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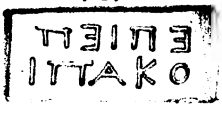


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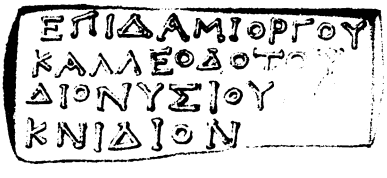


TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

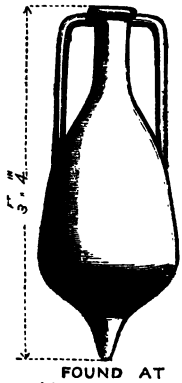
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

# I.—ON THE INSCRIBED POTTERY OF RHODES, CNIDUS, AND OTHER GREEK CITIES.

BY J. L. STODDART, ESQ.

(Read June and November, 1847.)

AMPHORA



FOUND AT
ALEXANDRIA

THERE exists a class of lettered monuments, less conspicuous than many others, but which appears to deserve a larger share of attention than it has hitherto obtained. It consists of the stamps impressed by the ancients upon their pottery. The material itself is almost imperishable; for although it may be fractured, it does not readily disappear, and few others are so little subject to chemical alteration. Hence it becomes

more secure than either metals or marble from the generality of destroying accidents.

Many museums possess specimens of Egyptian bricks dried in the sun, and bearing hieroglyphic legends; among which the cartouches of royal names are not uncommon. Babylonian bricks, with their cuneiform characters, are also familiar. Still more frequent in cabinets and in published collections are the large circular seals of Roman tiles and bricks. These offer names, sometimes of potters, sometimes of the owners of the *prædium* in which the brick-field was situated, and more rarely those of Consuls; of whom the earliest as yet discovered are perhaps Collega and Crispus (A. D. 93), near the close of the reign of Domitian.

Long however before that epoch, the Greeks had applied lettered stamps to their pottery; chiefly to the handles of the ordinary unvarnished DIOTÆ, or pointed AMPHORÆ of commerce; which served to contain wine, oil, and different other fluids or semi-fluids.[1] The Greek stamps, unlike the Roman, are in no case referable to private *officinæ*. The names they exhibit are those of magistrates, never of *figuli*. Sometimes they furnish, along with proper names, the designations also of Greek months; not Athenian, but belonging to a calendar as yet imperfectly known. The object of this memoir is limited to an examination of such sigillated handles. Accident has placed great numbers in my possession, and it is possible

[1] By the Greeks, this vessel was usually called κέραμος, or ἀμφορεύς; the first being, perhaps, the older and more precise term for the common ware here noticed. In the same way, the Romans named it indifferently *testa*, *amphora* or *diota*: also *cadus*, chiefly with reference to some Greek wines which came in jars of that denomination.

that materials so much more abundant than any of their class hitherto accessible, may afford some particulars of curious information.

But MANUBRIA such as those about to be described are not altogether novelties. Still, Sicily is the only country in which many had hitherto been observed. So far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, two or three specimens were reported by the native historian and topographer Fazzello, and as many more appeared subsequently in the 'Sicula' of D'Orville. It was, however, the Prince of Torremuzza (Castello) who, principally from the cabinets of local antiquaries and from their manuscripts, first collected copies of manubrial stamps, forty-nine of which he inserted in his body of Sicilian inscriptions.[2] All but three are either rightly copied, or they may be recognized. The months they record are nine; indeed ten, including an intercalary month. They are,

| | |
|---|---|
| Thesmophorius. | Hyacinthius. |
| Dalius. | Badromius. |
| Agrianius. | Carneius. |
| Theudasius. | Panamus. |
| Artamitius. | Deuteral Panamus. |

To which the editor adds Hadrianius, Liamus, Laromius; mistaken readings for Agrianius, Panamus, and Badromius. Other seals of the same description have been published in our own time by writers whose productions are little known in England. The Baron Judica,[3] in an account of his excavations at Palazzuolo (Acræ), has given nineteen, of which fourteen are available. The President Avolio[4] has added

[2] Siciliæ vet. Insor. Cl. xv. [3] Antichita di Acre. Mess. 1819.
[4] Antiche fatture di Argilla. Pal. 1829.

forty,—figured so indifferently by the engraver, that whilst six only are perfect, hardly twenty more can be amended, even with the aid of the lists which are about to be produced. The Abbé Ferrara[5] has also contributed nineteen epigraphs, chiefly, as he says, from the Biscari Museum at Catana, but really copied with their faults from Castello, instead of being taken from the originals. These writers then, together, have preserved about fifty distinct names of magistrates.[6]

I am not aware that any thing further of much consequence has been published on the subject, unless it be a dissertation by Professor Thiersch, mentioned to me quite recently; and of which, to my regret, I have been unable to obtain a sight. Whatever may be its deductions, they are probably founded on the materials just enumerated, from which Professor K. F. Hermann has adopted the list of Sicilian months inserted in his recent work on the Greek Year.[7]

No one indeed had yet doubted the Sicilianism of these diotal epigraphs, or of the magistrates and months they present: their Doric orthography tallied perfectly with their presumed origin. Hitherto they appeared to be peculiar to the island. Still it was impossible to assign them to any particular city; for they were found about all the coasts, on the sites of Phintia (Alicata), Syracuse, Catana, Leontini, Tauromenium, Tyndaris, Thermæ, Eryx; and in the interior, on the sites of Acræ, Menæ, and Centuripæ. Among them had been encountered examples of the name Agathocles. They passed, in those times of

[5] Storia di Catania. Cat. 1829, pp. 394, 403.

[6] Castello twenty-six, and Avolio sixteen. Judica's book is not at hand; but of new names it probably contains fewer than eight.

[7] Über Griechische Monatskunde, &c. Gott. 1844.

loose criticism, for historical documents, connected in some way[8] with the famous tyrant of Syracuse,—the son of a potter, and who himself exercised that calling in early life. Such a handle, from Noto, had been seen by Fazzello in the year 1555;[9] and another, possessed at Syracuse by the antiquary Landolina, became the subject of much speculation to travellers of the past generation.[10]

The site of the ancient Alexandria is covered to a great depth with an accumulation of broken pottery, of every age from the foundation of the city onwards. It was natural to expect that lettered fragments might be found there; but, though no inattentive observer, a residence of eighteen months had brought none to my knowledge, even by report. At length, in the winter of 1842, whilst passing one day through a hollow road at about the third of a mile from the modern walls, chance placed before me an inscribed handle lying in the middle of the way, upon which it must have fallen very recently from the naked bank above. That accident led me to explore the neighbourhood. Spots were soon found where manubria occurred in some abundance; but these had remained so long exposed that their legends were completely obliterated by attrition. In other places more secluded, and where they had been lately ploughed up,[11] or washed from the

[8] How, may be seen in Walther (Gualtherus), Tabulæ Ant. c. v. No. 53.

[9] De rebus Sic. Dec. II. lib. 4.

[10] Bishop Munter, Rezzonico, &c.; but it seems to have held its place among the curiosities of Syracuse as late as 1813.—Hughes's Travels, vol. i. p. 53.

[11] These places are naturally bare, being beyond the reach of the present irrigation; but the *fellahs* take advantage of the rains to sow here and there patches of barley. The meagre crop rises no more than nine inches or a foot, yet it ripens.

earth by rain, their condition was so far better that one in about twenty might be read. At first, their existence seemed to be confined to a few localities, possibly the limits of an ancient suburb; but further observation left no room to doubt that wherever excavation is made, within the walls, the same manubria may be found, although far less abundantly than in the situations just noticed. The site of the Cæsareium yielded me, at one time, several. The lettered pottery does not in general appear upon the surface, merely because it is covered by that of a later period, always coarse and uninscribed.

The collection was continued, interruptedly, until August, 1844. Within two hours after sunrise, I sometimes gathered twenty legible handles, and returned with my pockets heavily laden.[12] There were also bad days when none were discovered; but the average gleaning of a morning was about six. These were the companions of my breakfast-table. There was a vivid interest in deciphering, often with much pains, those time-worn legends,—uttering anew the names of men once supreme in a great maritime State, and whose memory the earth yielded back after twenty centuries of oblivion. At the termination of two years, a series of four hundred and seventy-nine legible manubria had been completed. Of that number, three hundred and seventy are dissimilar, the remainder duplicates. The whole are reducible to two principal classes, distinguishable as well by shape as by the texture and colour of the earthenware, and still further by the form of the epigraphs. A third but far less numerous class may also be discerned

[12] The whole collection was made in this way; for the specimens obtained by any other means do not exceed half a dozen.

with certainty; and a few specimens remain more or less anomalous, but none of them perhaps unintelligible or without value.

### RHODIAN EPIGRAPHS.

Of the first and largest class of manubria, Alexandria furnished four hundred and six; of which two hundred and eighty-five differ from each other. In material, all are alike. The clay is so pure and tenacious that its fracture is perhaps sharper than that of delf. The colour is pale without, deepening more and more within to a lively salmon hue, perfectly exempt from cinereous discoloration. These fragments have all belonged to pointed *diotæ*, with long lateral handles;[13] such as are figured on the coins of Chios and of Athens, symbols perhaps of their staple trade in wine and oil. A vase of the kind, entire, but without any stamp, was brought to me by the soldiers employed on some excavation. Its height is three feet four inches. The perpendicular portions of the handles rise ten inches from the body of the vessel; and *ears*, or horizontal shoulders, unite them to the mouth at a distance of about three inches. Such shoulders are in all cases slightly conical, from the root outwards; and they are flattened

[13] It is easy to distinguish, at Alexandria, at least eight well-defined classes of handles varying in shape and earth, and probably broken from *amphoræ* of different origins. Some, as already noticed, are never inscribed. In a class of which hundreds may have passed under my eyes, one specimen only bore an epigraph (No. 351). There is also diversity in the solid foot, or rather spike, of the vase. The leading forms are four, of which the first is by far the most common.

a little, so that their width exceeds by half the one-inch diameter of the stems. That solidity accounts for their preservation, whilst the vases themselves have been reduced to atoms. Upon their upper surface has been impressed the seal; generally an oblong cartouch $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch or $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch high. Sometimes, however, it assumes a circular or an oval form. A radiated head of Apollo, or a peculiar flower, then occupies the centre, and the legend surrounds the exergue.

To facilitate the examination of these epigraphs, they have been classed under the names of magistrates, arranged alphabetically.

It will be remarked that the names are constantly in the genitive case, the preposition ἐπὶ being expressed or understood. Many stamps contain nothing further. That may have been the earlier form, and several magistrates employed no other. Oftener, however, there is added the name of the month in which the amphora was made and legalized by the public seal. Sometimes, too, the magistrate is distinguished by his official designation ΙΕΡΕΥΣ.[14]

As regards the adoption of the circular stamps, it seems to have been purely fanciful, and very far from being general. Thirty-one magistrates assumed the flower, nine the radiated head. Four of them used both;[15] indeed, Andronicus did so in the same month,—just as Aristides, Timagoras, and Tisagoras, used rectangular and circular seals simultaneously.[16] No one employed the latter constantly; and few

[14] Plate I. exhibits these varieties.

[15] Andronicus, Aristomachus, Damocrates, and Nicasagoras.

[16] Aristides used both in the month Hyacinthius; Timagoras in Agrianius; and Tisagoras in Artamitius.

varied in more than an occasional instance from the ordinary oblong cartouch. The series of Ariston, and that of Nicasagoras, exemplify sufficiently the leading varieties.

No sooner was the discovery of inscribed manubria commenced at Alexandria, than proofs presented themselves of their entire similarity to those which had come to light in Sicily. Comparison was readily effected, for three of the Sicilian handles were by me; one of which had been picked up by myself, some years before, on the site of Centuripæ, the others purchased elsewhere in the island. The books already mentioned were also in my possession. Thus aided, counterparts were gradually found to thirty-five of the forty-six legible inscriptions published by Castello, to thirteen of the fourteen available in the work of Judica, and to twenty-two of the twenty-six recognizable in the faulty plates of Avolio.[17] The only names reported by those writers, which did not occur in Egypt, are these six:—Cratagoras, Linctor, Ranactus, Sostratus, given by Castello; Andron by Judica, and Polyænus by Avolio. On the other hand, and in this class of stamps alone, Alexandria supplied one hundred and nineteen names, which are not known to have yet appeared in Sicily. Of handles inscribed with the name Agathocles, which had occasioned so much disquisition, three were now obtained. Every peculiarity of seals disinterred in

[17] These alone are certain; several others arise from perverted readings of the stamps.

The Sicilian varieties, both of names, and of months in connection with particular names, are now added to the Alexandrian series, as augmenting its utility and completeness; but they are always discriminated by the initials C., J., A., for Castello, Judica, and Avolio.

Sicily was repeated; the same dimensions, the same divisions in dimidiated words, the same parergic devices;[18] so that many specimens from the two countries must have been impressed by the same metal seals. That conformity, awakening curiosity, led me to make a careful analysis of the monuments; and it appeared to afford, as primary results,—

1st, Evidence that the manubria are of common origin; neither Sicilian nor Alexandrian, but Rhodian.

2ndly, Evidence that the magistrates named are EPONYMI; and that the *eponymus* of the Rhodians was a sacerdotal dignitary bearing the title ΙΕΡΕΥΣ.

3rdly, The acquisition of one hundred and sixty-nine names of those hierarchal magistrates, probably annual.

4thly, The discovery of a complete list of Doric months, used at Rhodes and probably in its colonies; twelve months, and a deuteral intercalary month.

Without venturing to embark on a minute examination of these points, some remarks, illustrative of each, may be submitted to attention.

---

1. It was the circular seals that disclosed the Rhodian origin of the whole class of manubria to which they belong. Of such stamps, five only had hitherto appeared; one given by Castello, four by Judica. All bore the flower. So few examples were not likely to attract much notice; still less to serve as the

[18] Figures varying in size, which appear subordinately on the field of many seals. It is not easy to assign them an adequate name; but they resemble, in all material points, those little devices upon Greek and Roman coins, which numismatic writers have sometimes termed *sigilla solitaria*.

sufficient grounds for an hypothesis then improbable. The emblem, as yet, seemed to be accidental and unimportant. But when sigillated manubria were encountered in Egypt, and fifty-four of them presented the self-same flower, its consequence became striking, and my attention fell on its identity with the conventional rose[19] figured on the reverse of the coins of Rhodes. Thirteen seals were also coming to light, for the first time, with the radiated head of Apollo, the ordinary obverse of the same money; which is remarkably constant to those two types, doubtless for the same commercial reason which induced a like uniformity in the coinage of Athens, as it does still in the issues of Spanish and Austrian dollars. The inference thus attained was further strengthened by the recognition of several names in Rhodian history and inscriptions, or upon coins. Some too, as for instance Rhodon, and perhaps Timorrhodus, seemed to be themselves suggestive of their nationality.

II. That the names throughout the Rhodian epigraphs are those of magistrates, is obvious. That those magistrates are eponymi, is rendered equally evident by a form of habitual occurrence in authors, and on monuments of every class. It is, besides, too absolute to belong to any inferior authority. The new materials now bring assurance that the official designation of those named was Ἱερεὺς. But the quality of eponymus can alone account for the appearance of a

[19] There have been different opinions as to this device. Often it has passed for the *balaustium*, or pomegranate flower. The national name might have persuaded otherwise. But there are coins decisive as to the true character of the flower, for they represent it as seen from above, and precisely resembling our heraldic rose. Possibly it was single.

hierarch upon the public seals. Municipal duties cannot have been his, nor commercial and sumptuary jurisdiction. Professor Boeckh, besides, had already noticed in two inscriptions[20] the presence of the Ἱερεὺς, and his apparent quality of eponymus at Rhodes. Of manubrial seals containing that title, Sicilian writers had produced but one, mutilated too, and its meaning undetected.[21] Alexandria, however, afforded eighteen, referable to fourteen individuals; so that we have now fifteen names of eponymic priests, with the office itself expressed: they are

| | |
|---|---|
| Anaxander. | Harpocrates. |
| Anaximachus. | Laphides. |
| Andrias. | Pekiratus. |
| Archinus. | Sosicles. |
| Aristomachus. | Timagoras. |
| Ariston. | Timorrhodus (A). |
| Damænetus. | Tisagoras. |
| Eucratidas. | |

It may be presumed that the style Ἱερεὺς is omitted from the majority of Rhodian epigraphs, to avoid superfluity. When adopted at all, it was perhaps upon no more than one seal of the annual set. Timagoras is the only magistrate who employed it in two months. A like simplicity is observable on the silver monies, not of Rhodes merely, but of Greek cities generally. Everybody knew sufficiently the designation of the eponymus in each, nor is it usually specified previous to the coinages of imperial times.

What the particular priesthood was, which held so exalted a position in the commonwealth, can scarcely

[20] Corpus Inscr. Gr. 2525 b, 2905.

[21] It is of Timorrhodus, and is given by Avolio, who mistakes the title for a proper name. The name of the same magistrate, without the expression of his office, has occurred at Alexandria.

be matter for doubt. Rhodes was "THE HOLY CITY OF THE SUN,"[22] to whose religion the entire island was devoted. The eponymus therefore was the pontiff of the national worship; the minister of the tutelary god, author of the Rhodian race, Apollo Helius. His colossal image,[23] the wonder of the world, added

[22] Τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλιν; Aristides, Orat. Rhod. (vol. ii. p. 398, Op.) Diodorus, too, relates that the island was considered sacred to the Sun; and he adds, that the Rhodians, believing themselves sprung from Helius, revered him beyond all other gods: ὡς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν.—v. 56.

[23] The height of this bronze statue was 70 cubits (Strabo, p. 652; Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 18); that is, about 105 feet, as assigned by Festus. In the great earthquake of 227 B. C. it was broken off by the knees, and fell, fifty-six years after its erection. The heads upon the coins and diotal seals of Rhodes afford us some notion, slight as it is, of this wonderful work. The seals show that it had more or less of drapery; probably it had much. Modern art has produced but one imitation of the Rhodian colossus. It is the statue of S. Carlo Borromeo, raised in 1697, at his birth-place, Arona. Its height is 106 feet; but it includes a stone pedestal of 40 feet. When visiting the monument, four months since, the meaning of a statement made by Pliny concerning the Rhodian statue, as it lay prostrate, became evident. He says of it,—"Vasti specus hiant, diffractis membris. Spectantur intus magnæ molis saxa, quorum pondere stabiliverat constituens." The fact seems to be authentic, but the inference mistaken. The statue at Arona is composed of thick hammered plates, united together with admirable skill and solidity, the head and hands being the only portions cast. The whole is supported within and secured by a column of masonry and a series of iron bars; so that were the statue to fall, it too would be found to contain disjointed stones.

Perhaps there may be yet another point of similarity between the ancient colossus and the modern. The latter is not within Arona, nor is it even visible from thence; but it stands a little way north from the town, conspicuous from afar among the folds of the vine-clad hills. Gela, in Sicily, founded by Rhodians, had a very large bronze statue of Apollo, much more ancient than that of its metropolis, and it too stood outside the city (Diod. xiii. 108). It is there-

celebrity to the city. His radiated head, piously adopted as the symbol of the State, appears upon its coins and on its diotal seals. This priesthood was in all probability annual. We have epigraphs of Nicasagoras for seven months, of Pythodorus for six, of Andrias and of Aristides for five, and of many for four.

But it has always been understood, and on sufficient testimony,[24] that the chief magistrates at Rhodes were Prytanes; although they are mentioned with such

---

fore not unlikely that the colossus at Rhodes was similarly situated. The barbarous fiction of its position across the port rests on no valid authority. Had it been true, the statue must have fallen into the sea, which it certainly did not. It was destroyed A. D. 653; so that it had subsisted 936 years.

The *pseudo* Philo Byzantinus, *De septem orbis Spectaculis,* has been consulted since the above was written. The rhetor of uncertain date, author of that treatise, perhaps had seen the Rhodian colossus; but he displays no scrutiny, no discernment in matters of art; and precision in details is quite sacrificed to grandiloquence. Still we have to thank him for some important particulars. The statue stood on a lofty pedestal of white marble. Its first section consisted of the feet, up to the ankles. These may, perhaps, have been cast entire, although each must have measured about 18 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet high. The rest of the statue was, in a manner, built. Philo states that the pieces were cast; in which he might be right, or very easily mistaken; and the latter is the better probability. The interior seems to have presented masonry of huge stones, securing an arrangement of massive iron bars; and these must clearly have upheld the many parts of the bronze-work. The metal employed was 500 talents of brass and 300 of iron; that is, about 380 cwt. of the former and 228 cwt. of the latter, taking the commercial talent at 85 lbs. avoirdupois.

[24] The testimonies of ancient writers on this and some other points about to be noticed being numerous, reference may be made to the 'Rhodus' of Meursius, who has brought them together in the mode of the old collectors. His compilation has been very well digested by Paulsen, 'Rhodi Descriptio, Macedonica ætate,' Gott. 1818.

diversity as to leave it doubtful whether one, or two, or several, were elected. It has been suggested that this varied with time; but as there is, in one case, express notice that letters from the Roman fleet reached Rhodes whilst Stratocles "was Prytanis for the second half-year,"[25] the discrepancies may be adjusted by assuming that the Prytanes were two, and that each ruled during six consecutive months, so that there never was more than one Prytanis at a time invested with the chief authority.[26] The supposed supremacy of these officers gave rise to the conjecture,[27] which now proves to be mistaken, that they were eponymi at Rhodes, and that the names which appear upon the coins of the city are theirs.

The question then arises—What were the relative positions and functions of the Priest of Helius and of the Prytanes? and it is one well worth entertaining, if it can conduct to any traces of arrangements highly interesting to know; because the oligarchical republic of the Rhodians was subjected to so few revolutions, that it must always have remained a tolerably pure type of an old Dorian constitution.

The motives for concluding that the Priest of Helius was eponymus are already assigned. Still, Appian[28] and Polybius[29] in terms, and every historical incident in which the Prytanes appear, concur to attest that the powers of the executive were in their hands.[30] They cared for the republic at home,—

[25] Πρυτανεύοντος τὴν δευτέραν ἕκμηνον—Polyb. XVII. 6.

[26] Like the Roman regulation, which gave the imperium and the fasces to each Consul, in alternate months.

[27] Paulsen, p. 55. [28] Bell. Civ. IV. 66. [29] XXVII. 3.

[30] Hesychius and Suidas agree in giving βασιλεὺς and ἄρχων as the two first definitions of the word πρύτανις.

they maintained relations with foreign States. It is however nearly certain that their authority was exclusively civil and domestic; so that it did not, in ordinary cases, extend to the command of the armed force either by sea or by land. In the wars of Rhodes, its squadrons were confided to admirals, its troops to generals, appointed for special occasions.[31]

In the old monarchical institutions of Greece and Italy, as of Egypt more anciently, the king was not only ruler, but priest also, and military leader.[32] When popular forms succeeded, power was subdivided, that it might be more easily controlled. Lacedæmon assigned the pontificate, with military command and the presidency of the senate, to magistrates called Kings; perhaps with reference to the first of these duties, rather than to the others; but the Ephors held the executive, and the first of the five was eponymus. At Athens the three qualities were separated as to persons, but blended in the united office of the chief Archons. The civil magistrate was there eponymus; he whose duties were more strictly religious held only the second place, still however with the appellation βασιλεὺς, as though traditionally

[31] In the civil wars, a Rhodian named Alexander counselled his fellow-citizens to oppose Cassius; and his views being approved by the assembly, he was at once named Prytanis; but at the same time an admiral for the war was appointed as usual, and he soon after sailed with thirty-three ships. The Prytanis, indeed, was also with the fleet, and was in the battle at Myndus; but that was probably a deviation from custom, attributable to the zeal of the man; nor is it likely that he practically commanded in an action, where the Ναύαρχος chosen by the people was present. (*Conf.* Appian, Bell. Civ. IV. 66, 71.)

[32] Like the King of Delos, in Virgil:

"Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos."

Æn. III. 80.

identified with the priesthood; and the Polemarch directed military affairs. At Rome, the pontificate was apart from the civil and military functions, which rested with the Consuls, and they were eponymi. But even the Romans themselves, smarting from recent tyranny, appear to have considered the kingly name so essential to a due performance of those public rites of religion, which their kings had previously celebrated, that they established a Rex Sacrorum, though under excessive precautions which deprived that office even of its due consideration.[33] Rhodes, in emancipating itself from monarchy, had perhaps adopted a still more accurate balance of powers than any other State, by altogether disconnecting the sacred, the civil, and the military attributes of government. In that division supremacy seems to have been reserved to the hierarchal principle. It had in its favour the sanction of antiquity, and agreed with the grave and religious sentiment which distinguished the Dorian character.

We may suppose then the priest of the Sun to have been ritually the chief of the Rhodian commonwealth; representing its majesty, officiating in its public solemnities, and presiding ceremonially in its councils. Purple and the στεφάνη were most probably among his external distinctions; both as having been

[33] This Livy seems to regret, in his suggestive account of the institution. "Regibus exactis, et parta libertate, rerum deinde divinarum habita cura. Et quia quædam publica sacra per ipsos Reges factitata erant: nec ubiubi Regum desiderium esset, Regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium Pontifici subjecere; ne additus nomini honos, aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima cura, officeret: ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimis quoque rebus muniendo, modum excesserint."—Lib. II. 2.

perhaps originally sacerdotal ornaments, a use which they retained in numerous situations;[34] and also because an opulent and splendid people, claiming descent from the god, was sure to invest his priesthood with forms of great magnificence. It is also credible that so conspicuous a dignity was appropriated to the eupatridæ, as indeed all priesthoods are likely to have been; and that it was conferred on those individuals of the body whose age and eminent services added authority to their sacred office. They have escaped the notice of history, for the plain reason that they had no action or part in the events which it records.

Thus the deliberative functions rested with the senate of patricians; sacred things and the impersonation of the republic with the priest of Helius; civil administration with the Prytanes; whilst military command was casual and temporary.

This view of the Rhodian polity derives part of its probability from analogies observable elsewhere in Dorian cities; and the parallel is in nothing so close as in the peculiarity which not unfrequently exhibits

[34] Tarsus had a priest of Hercules, styled the Stephanephorus, and to all appearance an annual eponymus like the priest of Helius at Rhodes; except that he may have had political attributes, more or less extensive. Athenæus, in narrating an anecdote of one Lysias, who, when the term of his priesthood had expired, refused to lay down its insignia, and thereby asserted tyranny, takes occasion to describe the costume of the Stephanephori at Tarsus. It consisted of a purple and white tunic, a sumptuous mantle, white Laconian shoes, and a laurel crown of gold.—Lib. VI. p. 215, *Casaub.* Again, one of the provisions in the supposed will of Alexander, as reported by Julius Valerius, was this: "Fieri porro unum oppidi" (Alexandriæ) "sacerdotium, qui sacerdos Alexandri nominetur, eique insignia dari placet, coronam auream et purpureum amictum."—Mai, Classic. Auc. VII. p. 236. Dio Chrysostom (Orat. XXXV.) seems to ascribe the crown and purple robe to chief priests generally.

the hierarch with the ritual supremacy and the quality of eponymus.

At Syracuse, for example, where the civil power was exercised by Prætors (Στρατηγοὶ), and perhaps by Prytanes at an earlier period;[35] and where democracy lapsed frequently into monarchy,[36] the eponymus was constantly sacerdotal through every change of the constitution, dating, as Diodorus intimates, from the reforms which followed the overthrow of tyranny by Timoleon (343 B. C.). It is, however, much more likely that the alterations then made were either revivals of institutions which had before existed on the spot, or that they were copied directly from those of Corinth, the metropolis of Syracuse, and the city of which Timoleon, as well as his associate lawgivers, Dionysius and Cephalus, were natives. Diodorus says: "He (Timoleon) established also the annual most-honoured magistrate, whom the Syracusans call the Amphipolus of Olympian Jupiter,[37] and Callimines was the first who was chosen; and thenceforward the Syracusans continued to inscribe their years by the magistrature of these (Amphipoli) until those (years) in which this history was written, and in which the political institutions were changed; for on the Sicilians coming to share the Roman citizenship, the magistracy of the Amphipoli lost its

[35] Corinth was governed by annual Prytanes, whilst subject to the oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ (Paus. II. 4); and it planted the colony of Syracuse at that epoch. At Corcyra, also of Corinthian origin, the chief magistrates were Prytanes, seemingly five.—Boeckh, C. I. vol. ii. pp. 23, 26.

[36] A power which resembled the dictatorship in some republics of South America much more closely than any thing else in modern times.

[37] Ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου.

consequence, after having endured more than three hundred years."[38]

Cicero, in his pleadings against Verres, has preserved some additional particulars concerning this office. At the time to which he refers it must still have retained its general attributes; for it was not until many years later that Roman citizenship was procured for the Sicilians by Antony. The orator speaks of the priesthood of Jupiter as the highest honour of the city, annually renewed and plainly unconnected with municipal authority. The mode of election, which he also describes, was very remarkable. It bears with it the aspect of antiquity, and may be taken to resemble that practised, in similar circumstances, at Rhodes and elsewhere. Three candidates were chosen by the suffrages of the three tribes; probably the Hyllæi, Dymanes, and Pamphyles, as in other Doric communities. The three names were thrown into a hydria, and the first drawn forth was proclaimed pontiff.[39] If this hierarchal magistrate is never found engaged in the events of Syracusan history which are comparatively well known, it is, as with the priest of the Sun at Rhodes, that no executive functions were his. But for a single passage, we should neither know that the title Amphipolus existed at Syracuse, nor at all suspect that the annual priests of Jupiter, whom it distinguished, were epo-

[38] XVI. 70.

[39] "Syracusis lex est de religione, quæ in annos singulos Jovis sacerdotem sortito capi jubeat; quod apud illos amplissimum sacerdotium putatur. . . Quum suffragiis tres ex tribus generibus creati sunt, res revocatur ad sortem." And then the law, in its own terms, prescribed: "ut quot essent renuntiati, tot in hydriam sortes conjicerentur; cujus nomen exisset, ut is haberet id sacerdotium."—2 Verr. III. 51.

nymi in that city through three centuries of great transactions and varied government.

How exalted the position was, may be inferred too from another indication, which appears to derive from these comparisons as much light as it supplies. Syracuse, it is known, still possesses its ancient theatre, excavated in the rock, and either originally the work of Hiero II., or reduced by him to its present form. Around its middle præcinction runs a fascia inscribed with names, which designated the divisions of the cavea, and imply the places, or at all events the relative consequence, of the most eminent spectators. The cunei are nine. Each had its epigraph, of which five, although mutilated, have been recognized. He who faces the cavea has on his right hand four cunei, all of which appear to have borne the names of gods, and probably each was the seat of a hierarch, of whom there must have been several in so great and opulent a city.[40] To the left, again, four cunei were inscribed with the names of King Hiero and of the living members of his family, following each other in becoming order from the middle outwards.[41] The place of honour was the fifth or central cuneus. The epigraph upon it is ΔΙΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ,[42] showing that it was the situa-

[40] The second from the centre has the name of Hercules distinguishable. The others may have had those of Minerva, of Ceres or Proserpine, and of Diana, divinities peculiarly worshipped at Syracuse.

[41] The cuneus nearest the centre bears the name of King Hiero; the next that of Philistis, his Queen; then comes that of Nereis, his daughter-in-law; and, no doubt, the name which has disappeared with the ruin of the outer cuneus was that of Gelo, the only son of Hiero.

[42] It was visible in 1804, and is reported by writers of that time;

tion of the Amphipolus of Olympian Jupiter. Thence proceed inferences which accord perfectly with those already acquired by other means. They point out that even when monarchy had been long and tranquilly established at Syracuse,[43] the hierarch had not lost his original character, either as eponymus or as ritual chief of the commonwealth, and that in those capacities he took precedence of the king himself, presiding in the public spectacles and in the assemblies of the people.

The constitution of Melita, also of Dorian origin, had the same peculiarities as those of Rhodes and Syracuse. An existing decree[44] of its senate and people is headed by the name of a Pontiff (*Ἱεροθύτης*) as eponymus, followed by those of two Archons, representing of course the civil jurisdiction, such as the Prytanes may have held at Rhodes.

Gela was a Dorian city, founded in Sicily by a colony from Rhodes, about 690 B. C. In a decree of its people,[45] the high priest (*Ἱεραπόλος*) occupies the

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but in 1830 it seemed to me to be quite obliterated by the waters of a mill which stands in the theatre.

[43] The epigraphs may be dated between the years 232 B. C. and 216 B. C.; but nearer the former. Gelo must have been then associated in the government, as he and his wife have the royal titles; the former on coins, the latter in the inscription of the theatre. Hiero was in extreme old age. See too Polyb. v. 88.

[44] Granting the rites of public hospitality to Demetrius, a Syracusan. Its heading is faulty in the copies of Gruter, Castello, &c.; but a facsimile of the bronze *tessera* itself, published by Bres, 'Malta Antica,' p. 193, shows plainly

ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΟΘΥΤΟΥ ΙΚΕΤΑ ΙΚΕΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΗΡΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ Κ[ΡΑ]ΤΗΤΟΣ.

κ. τ. λ.

[45] Castelli, Cl. VIII. 3.

first place as eponymus. After him comes a *Κατὲνίαυτος*,[46] or annual magistrate, the head of the executive.

Acragas (Agrigentum) was peopled from Gela.[47] There is preserved of that city a decree of public hospitality,[48] particularly clear in its denotation of offices. The first is a sacred eponymus with the title *Ἱεροθύτης*, as at Melita. He is president of the senate and head of the Hyllæi, one of the three phylæ of Doric settlements. Then follows the Proagorus, known to have been the chief civil magistrate in other Sicilian cities, as for instance at Catana and at Tyndaris.[49] Afterwards is named the scribe or recorder (*Γραμματεύς*); and at the end of the decree it is directed that certain disbursements be made by the treasurer (*Ταμίας*).

But the appointment of hierarchal eponymi was not, it seems, peculiar to cities strictly of Dorian

[46] This expresses only the nature of an office which had some other name. So the 'Parian Chronicle,' in giving the date of the first annual Archon at Athens, omits the title, and says *Ἀφ' οὗ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρξεν ὁ Κρέων*—line 48. It is very likely that the chief civil magistrate at Gela was a Proagorus, as at Acragas.

[47] Thucydides, VI. 4, intimates that part came from Rhodes, part from Crete; which, taken strictly, is not perhaps exact; for although it does appear that the colony was of mixed race, it is almost as sure that the Cretans it contained were of those who had been long established on the western coast of Rhodes.

[48] Castelli, Cl. VIII. 1. The heading runs

ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΟΘΥΤΑ
ΝΥΜΦΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ
ΠΑΡΑΠΡΟΣΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΒΟΥΛΑΣ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΥΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΦΙΛΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΥΛΛΕΩΝ
ΠΡΟΑΓΟΡΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΔΡΑΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.
κ. τ. λ.

[49] Cic. 2 Verr. IV. 22, 39.

origin; for we find a Hieromnemon[50] in that capacity at Byzantium and at Chalcedon, a Stephanephorus at Smyrna, and instances of the kind occur even in Athens itself, at one period of its history. It is when the shadow of democracy had been restored by the interference of Demetrius Poliorcetes, 307 B.C. A blind adulation then impelled the people to decree, among other things, the creation of a priesthood of Antigonus and Demetrius as the "saviour gods;" and, by way of adding lustre to the office, they transferred to it the old national eponymi of their Archons, which consequently ceased to be observed during eighteen years.[51]

Further to multiply examples might prove tedious and unnecessary. Others, as may be supposed, are accessible to ordinary research.

That, however, which ought not to be omitted, for it concerns the subject materially, is the occasional notice taken by Plato of the great priesthoods generally. In specifying the arrangements which he considered fittest, he probably stated those which were followed more or less completely in the best regulated communities of his time. He directs that where hereditary priesthoods already exist, they shall not be disturbed; but, as respects all others, that the

[50] Amphipolus, Hierothytes, Hierapolus, Hieromnemon, Stephanephorus, &c., are epithets given to distinguished priesthoods of particular gods in particular places. It does not follow that any one of those terms might not be applied to the priest of another god elsewhere. We see that the Amphipolus at Syracuse was priest of Olympian Jupiter; the Stephanephorus at Tarsus, priest of Hercules; and considering the magnitude and splendour of the temple of Olympian Jupiter at Agrigentum, as it is described by Diodorus, XIII. 82, and as its ruins still attest, we may infer that the Hierothytes there was priest of that god.

[51] Plut. Demetr. 10.

priests shall issue from free and blameless families; that their appointment shall depend on the choice of the citizens by election, and on the will of the gods by a resort to lot;[52] that they shall hold the office during one year, and no longer; finally, that they shall not be under sixty years of age. In another place, where he prescribes regulations for Magnesia, whether of Thessaly or of Asia is uncertain, he directs that a high priest of Apollo and Helius shall be chosen yearly from a species of *gerusia*, and that this magistrature shall be eponymic in the city as long as it endures.[53]

III. The class of diotal manubria under examination has made known the following names of magistrates. We have something approaching to strict evidence that one hundred and fourteen of the number are Rhodian eponymi; because they are either present upon the seals which bear the head of Helius, or that peculiar flower, which are the habitual types of Rhodes; or they are accompanied by the names of months, ascertained to be Rhodian by most of them appearing upon seals of authenticated Rhodian origin; and nine, not identified by either of the above means, are recognized upon coins of the city. That the remaining fifty-five names are equally Rhodian, is the reasonable inference obtainable from comparisons directed towards the shape and substance of the

[52] Exactly as the Amphipolus was created at Syracuse, according to Cicero.

[53] *Τούτων δὴ πάντων τὰ μὲν αἱρετὰ χρὴ, τὰ δὲ κληρωτὰ, ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεσι γίγνεσθαι . . . . Κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ μὴ μακρότερον τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἑκάστῳ· ἔτη δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον ἑξήκοντα ἡμῖν εἴη γεγονώς.*—De Legib. VI. p. 759. . . . . *καί τ' οὔνομα ἀναγράφειν τούτου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται μέτρον ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ χρόνου, ἕως ἂν ἡ πόλις οἴκηται.*—Ibid. XII. p. 947.

handles on which they are found, the form of the letters, and the general character of the epigraphs. Still it may be desirable to note such names, in order that the reality of their Rhodian source may be more completely tested by future discoveries of monuments. They are consequently preceded, in the list, by a distinctive asterisk.

PRIESTS OF THE SUN—EPONYMI OF RHODES.

Ænetor.
Æschines.[54]
Agastophanes.
Agathocles.
Agoranax.
Alexander.
Alexiadas.
Aleximachus.
* Amyntas.
Anaxander.
Anaxibulus.
Anaximachus.
Andrias.
* Andricus.
Andromachus.
* Andron (J.)
Andronicus.
* Antimachus.
Antipater.
* Apæles.
* Aphrodisius.
* Apollodorus.
Archembrotus.
Archidamus.
Archilædas.
Archinus.
Archocrates.
Aremachus.
* Aresarchus.
Aristacus.
Aristagoras.
Aristanax.
* Aristarchus.
Aristides.
Aristocles.
Aristocrates.
Aristodemus.
Aristogenes.
Aristogiton.
Aristomachus.
Ariston.
Aristopolius.
Aristratus.
Arnibius.
* Artimas.
Arylædas.
* Asclepiadas.
Astymedes.
Athanodotus.
Atimus.
Autocrates.
* Bromius.

[54] A few of the very familiar names are here rendered in the usual orthography, as Æschines, not Æschinas; Demetrius, not Damatrius, &c.; but all others are left in their Doric form.

* Callianax.
Callicrates.
Callis.
* Callon.
Clearchus.
Clenostratus.
Cleocrates.
Cleonymus.
Clisimbrotidas.
* Cotys.
Cratagoras (C.)
Cratidas.
Creon.
Damænetus.
Damocles.
Damocrates.
Damophilus.
Demetrius.
Diocles.
* Diodotus.
Dionysius.
* Diophantus.
* Discus.
* Dius.
Dorcylidas.
* Dorus.
* Dracontidas.
* Epipacus.
* Etæus.
* Euclitus.
Eucratidas.
Euphranor.
Evanor.
* Gorgias.
Gorgon.
Harpacus.
Harpocrates.
* Hecatamus.
* Hephæstion.
* Heracleon.
* Heraclitus (A.)
Heragoras.
* Hesilochus.
Hestiæus.
* Hierocles.
Hieron.
Hippocrates.
Jason.
* Imas.
* Isidorus.
Laphides.
Leontidas.
Linctor (C.)
* Lysidnis.
Lysippus.
Marsyas.
* Menecles.
* Menecrates.
Menestheus.
Menestratus.
Menidamus.
* Menothemis.
* Metrodorus.
* Midas.
* Musæus.
* Nanis.
* Nicagis.
Nicasagoras.
* Nicias.
Nicomachus.
Nicostratus.
* Nysius.
* Olympus.
Pædippus.
* Panchares.
Pausanias.
* Pedapatrus.
Pekiratus.
* Phanias.
Philænius.
Philocrates.
Philodamus.
* Philostephanus.
* Phonidas.

Pisistratus.
* Polyænus (A.)
Polyaratus.
Polycrates.
* Protus.
Pythodorus.
Pythogenes.
Rhanactus (C.)
Rhodon.
Sicanus.
Socrates.
Sosicles.
* Sosidas.
Sostratus (C.)
Symmachus.
* Themison.
Theodor.
Thersander.
* Theamocletus.
Thestor.
Timacrates.
Timagoras.
Timarchus.
Timodicus.
Timorrhodus.
Timotheus.
Timoxenus.
Tisagoras.
Tisamenus.
Xeno.
Xenophantus.
Xenophon.
Zeno.[55]

Some of these proper names appear to be very uncommon, some entirely new. Those which are not to be found in the useful nomenclature of Dr. Pape,[56] and therefore require notice, are—

Agastophanes.
Alexiadas.
Aremachus.
Aresarchus.
Aristanax.
Aristopolius.
Arnibius.
Arylædas.
Atimus.
Clenostratus.
Clisimbrotidas.
Cratagoras.
Discus.
Dorcylidas.
Epipacus.
Etæus.

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[55] The names ΞΕΝΩΝ and ΖΗΝΩΝ both occur upon Rhodian coins.

[56] Wörterbuch der Griechischen eigennamen. — Brauns. 1842. The names upon the Rhodian coins reported by Mionnet are there incorporated. Since then, Dr. Ross has published four Rhodian inscriptions, which are little more than catalogues of proper names (Nos. 274 to 277 in his Inscr. Gr. ined. Fasc. III. Berol. 1845). They are of value for comparison, and No. 275 affords some knowledge of secondary offices at Rhodes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hecatamus. | Pædippus. |
| Hesilochus. | Pedapatrus. |
| Imas. | Pekiratus. |
| Laphides. | Phonidas. |
| Linctor. | Rhanactus. |
| Lysidnis. | Sosidas. |
| Menothemis. | Thesmocletus. |
| Nanis. | Timodicus. |
| Nicagis. | Timorrhodus. |
| Nicasagoras. | Timacleon. |

There is a particular of much interest connected with the names recorded by the manubria. It is the proof they furnish that the patrician merchants of Rhodes did not exclude strangers, or the issue of strangers, from citizenship, and from access to the highest honours of the republic. Sicanus, whom we encounter among the eponymi, is an example. He, or the first so called of the family, must have come from some town of the Sicilian Sicani; possibly from Drepanum, a port of theirs which the Rhodians certainly frequented. The national name, applied at first as an epithet, clung to the individual. Harpacus is another instance of a foreign name. Although it is originally Median, there can be very little doubt that the Rhodian eponymus was of Lycian extraction; for the name was in a conspicuous family of Xanthus, and is found on the great inscribed stele of that city, illustrated by Colonel Leake.[57]

We can scarcely hope to recognize many individuals in the preceding list of eponymi, the means and objects of comparison being very limited. They must be sought principally in the inscriptions, the coins, and the history of Rhodes.

[57] Harpagus is the name of the general of Cyrus who subdued great part of Asia Minor and took Xanthus.—Herod. I. 176.

Among inscriptions, there is a decree of certain religious confraternities, in honour of Dionysidorus, an Alexandrian, and its heading presents the name and the designation of the eponymus, thus:

ΕΠΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ
ΔΙΟΣΘΥΟΥ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΑ
ΒΟΥΛΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ.—κ. τ. λ.[58]

In juxtaposition may be placed the epigraphs of two manubria picked up by myself at Alexandria. Both contain the name of the same magistrate—one with, the other without, his official style:

| | |
|---|---|
| ΕΠΙΕΡΕΩΣ<br>ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ<br>ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ | ΕΠΙΔΑΜΑΙ<br>ΝΕΤΟΥ<br>ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |

Nearly all the silver and gold coins of Rhodes bear the name of a magistrate expressed in the nominative case, and with nothing to distinguish his rank. It is true that an occasional piece, having for obverse the ivy-crowned head of Bacchus, instead of the usual radiated head of Helius, offers the title Quæstor or Treasurer (*Ταμίας*). Those coins, however, are of brass, and the greater number may be traced to the time of Nero, when the less noble coinage was possibly relinquished to the jurisdiction of an inferior authority. On the older monies, the name must rather be that of the eponymus; in other words, of the priest of the Sun, since it is certain that he signed the diotal seals. Even were that opinion inadmis-

[58] Boeckh, C. I. 2525 b. It is the longest of the Rhodian inscriptions, and is now in the cloisters of the Patriarchal Seminary at Venice, having been acquired in 1832.

sible, it would still be a safe conclusion, that as functionaries of lower grades pass gradually to the higher, some of those on the coins must be found too on the pottery. It happens accordingly that thirty-two of the former, reported by Mionnet, or existing in the cabinets of the British Museum,[59] occur in the manubrial epigraphs; and although the contracted range of Greek names renders it proper to be guarded in establishing identities, a coincidence of the sort on monuments of the same city must generally afford all the probability of which the case is susceptible.

The magistrates thus recognized are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ænetor. | Euphranor. |
| Anaxander. | Hephæstion. |
| Andronicus. | Heragoras. |
| Antipater. | Hierocles. |
| Archinus. | Jason. |
| Aremachus. | Nicostratus. |
| Aristacus. | Pausanias. |
| Aristides. | Philocrates. |
| Aristocles. | Socrates. |
| Aristocrates. | Symmachus. |
| Aristomachus. | Timocrates. |
| Callis. | Timotheus. |
| Damocles. | Timoxenus. |
| Demetrius. | Xeno. |
| Diocles. | Xenophantus. |
| Dionysius. | Zeno. |

Ænetor appears upon a coin struck at Rhodes; but exhibiting, like several others, the devices and the name of Alexander, the rose of the city being present as a parergic mark. It is quite possible that, after the death of Alexander, Macedonian money with his name and emblems continued to be struck there

[59] Callis, Damocles, and Diocles, are derived from the Museum, not appearing in the lists of Mionnet.

as before; chiefly because it had acquired character, and was become familiar in commerce. It is even probable that this magistrate was a contemporary of Antigonus Gonatas, 266 to 242 B.C.; for another coin,[60] with the ordinary types of Rhodes and the name of Ænetor, has been re-struck with a countermark in which is the head of that king; proving that the piece is not of a later period. It is the time of Philadelphus and of Euergetes in Egypt.

Hephæstion also appears as a magistrate on a coin of Alexander, minted at Rhodes.

Damatrius (Demetrius) is named on a third coin of the same class.

Zeno.—There seem to have been at least two magistrates of this name; for in the monies so inscribed there is a more essential difference than the mere form of the initial letter: the coins are of periods widely remote. One of silver, with the name written ΖΗΝΩΝ, corresponds with the diotal epigraph No. 283, and is of anterior date to another of brass with the ivy-crowned head of Bacchus, and the name written ΞΗΝΩΝ, as on the seal No. 284.

The name of Dionysius is written with lunated letters both on coins and on pottery, although characters of that form are not common on either.[61] It must be of the Roman period.

Antipater.—On a brass *didrachm* of the time of Nero, or thereabouts, we have ΕΠΙ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ.

[60] Mionnet, Descr. de Médailles, iii. p. 417.

[61] It is owing to this conformity, and a mention of him by Suidas, that the epigraph of Dionysius has been retained in the Rhodian series, notwithstanding that the name is written in the nominative case, which is so little compatible with that origin as to cause hesitation.

The considerations already noticed apply to the names of Rhodians which occur here and there in history. Some of the persons it records in the discharge of public duties must have reached the supreme magistrature.

Thus in Damophilus, Menidamus, and Amyntas of the epigraphs, we seem to encounter the admirals of the same names who commanded the three naval detachments sent to cruise against the fleet of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the period of the celebrated siege of Rhodes (304 B.C).[62]

Xenophantus is perhaps the admiral of that name who, with ten ships, blockaded the Hellespont, pending the differences of Rhodes with Byzantium (220 B.C.).[63]

Peisistratus may be the "Pausistratum prætorem" mentioned by Livy, as general of the Rhodian troops (197 B.C.) in the second Macedonian war, and afterwards admiral (191 B.C.) in the war with Antiochus.[64]

At the opening of the third Macedonian war, two parties divided the Rhodians; one, favourable to the Roman cause, and disposed to contribute a naval contingent; the other opposed to the proposal, and inclined to Perseus. The former prevailed, at first, so far that six ships were dispatched at the requisition of Caius Lucretius; but eventually the ascendancy remained with the other party, and its adverse bias awakened in Rome a resentment so profound, that after the battle of Pydna the Rhodian republic found itself in imminent danger. The people, in extreme alarm, then condemned to death the chiefs of the

[62] Diod. Sic. xx. 93. The reading of the second name is Μενέδημος; differing from the epigraph only by the Doric form of the latter.

[63] Polyb. IV. 50. [64] Liv. XXXIII. 19; XXXVI. 45.

anti-Roman faction, and every means was sought to propitiate the conquerors.

Timagoras commanded five of the ships sent to the aid of the Romans.[65]

Polyaratus appears in Livy, along with another, as "principes civitatis," leading men of the city. He was at the head of the party opposed to the Romans. When the war terminated, 168 B. C., he was abandoned by the cities in which he sought asylum, and finally was sent prisoner to Rome, after his adherents had been executed by the Rhodians themselves.[66]

Cleombrotus was one of the envoys to Rome, deputed to offer the mediation of Rhodes in the quarrel with Perseus.[67]

Nicostratus was sent at the same time to the Consul L. Æmilius Paulus.[68]

Astymedes was leader of the party friendly to Rome. He had advocated the naval succours at the beginning of the war. When it closed, he was commissioned to deprecate the anger of the senate. He was again envoy in 164 B.C.; and when a war with the Cretans was impending, 153 B.C., he was appointed admiral, and sent a third time to Rome.[69]

Philocrates was associated with Astymedes in his first embassy.[70]

Euphranor may have been the commander of the ships fitted out by the Rhodians for Cæsar, and which served under his orders in Egypt, 48 B. C.[71] It is the

[65] Polyb. XXVII. 6.
[66] Polyb. loc. cit.; XXX. 9. Liv. XLIV. 25; XLV. 10.
[67] Polyb. XXIX. 14. [68] Loc. cit.
[69] Polyb. XXVII. 6; XXX. 4; XXXIII. 14.
[70] Liv. XLV. 25. [71] Cæs. de Bell. Alexand. I. 13, 15—25.

more likely that such was the case, and that Euphranor was a person of influence in his city, as Rhodes adhered firmly to the cause of Cæsar even after his fall, and, with inferior force and fortune, contended against Cassius in the naval engagement near Myndus.[72]

Alexander was a popular leader, who, advising resistance against Cassius, was appointed Prytanis, 43 B. C.[73]

The names of Rhodians handed down as having distinguished themselves in different branches of knowledge are numerous.[74] Those of some eponymi are, no doubt, included among them. Here, however, it might be hazardous to lay stress on mere correspondence of name. We learn that Jason wrote on Rhodes and its antiquities; Socrates, on the history of the civil wars; Andronicus and Eucratidas, on philosophy. Aristocles was an orator contemporary with Strabo. Dionysius occurs in Suidas as an historian; and as it is added that he was priest of the Sun, there is ground for admitting his presence on the manubria. To Zeno, an historian of the first and second Macedonian wars, and who wrote too on the antiquities of his country, Polybius assigns very great weight.[75] He represents him as one who had acted in the events he described, and who had conducted the government. His name therefore may be recognized with considerable confidence on the Rhodian coins and diotal seals. Polybius speaks of having addressed to him a letter containing some critical remarks on a part of his nar-

[72] Appian. Bell. Civ. IV. 71.

[73] Loc. cit. cap. 66.

[74] A long list may be seen in the 'Rhodus' of Meursius, p. 749, *et seq.*

[75] Polyb. XVI. 14–20; Diod. V. 56.

rative; but the Rhodian must have been much the older man of the two, if he witnessed the sea-fights near Chios and Lade, 202–1 B. C. To him may be ascribed the silver coins already noticed as bearing the name Zeno. Those of brass with the same name are plainly of imperial times.

IV. To Germany we are indebted for nearly every thing of most value which has been written, during the last half century, concerning the Greek calendars. Besides the copious treatises of Ideler, in his works on general chronology,[76] special dissertations on the subject have been contributed more recently by Professor K. F. Hermann[77] and by Dr. Bergk.[78] Among these compositions, that of Hermann may be now regarded as the standard authority. It affords materials for seventeen lists of months[79] which are supposed to have been used in Dorian cities. Less, however, is known of this class than of any other. It exhibits little more than a nomenclature gleaned from authors and inscriptions. Of the seventeen lists, no one is complete. Fourteen of the number are so far fragmentary as to contain no more than from two to six months, and it naturally follows, from the imperfectness of the whole data, that many results are marked as questionable; such is the case with *two* of the *five Rhodian* months produced. The diotal epigraphs found at Alexandria now fill this void in our knowledge, by exhibiting the

[76] Handbuch der Chronologie, Berl. 1825. Lehrbuch der Chronologie, Berl. 1831.

[77] Über Griechische Monatskunde, Gött. 1844.

[78] Beiträge zur Griechischen Monatskunde, Geissen, 1845.

[79] Early in 1845, the kindness of Professor Lushington had forwarded to Alexandria transcripts of these lists, and useful remarks concerning them.

entire series of months as used in one of the greatest communities of the Dorian stock. It comprises, of course, the nine attributed by Hermann, and by Castello before him, to Sicily; but which our present information enables us to appropriate more accurately. It is not that the months of the Rhodian calendar may not perhaps have been common to some Doric cities of Sicily; particularly to three on the southern coast, Gela, Acragas, Camarina; which had more or less directly a Rhodian origin. The same supposition might be extended with probability to cities not far distant from Rhodes; and almost with certainty to those of the Dorian pentapolis, which would include Cos and Cnidus in the category.

Attention has been drawn to the singular fact that the names of months, with populations of Ionian origin terminated in ὼν, but those of the Dorians and Æolians in ος, with so much constancy as to afford of itself a sufficient criterion for their classification.

CALENDAR OF THE RHODIAN YEAR,
FROM DIOTAL EPIGRAPHS FOUND AT ALEXANDRIA.

| Months. | | | Conjectural coincidence. | Number of examples found at Alexandria. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thesmophorius. | ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ. | *from* | 23 Sept. | 12 |
| Diosthyus. | ΔΙΟΣΘΥΟΣ. | „ | 23 Oct. | 3 |
| Agrianius. | ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ. | „ | 21 Nov. | 28 |
| Pedageitnius. | ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΟΣ. | „ | 21 Dec. | 2 |
| Badromius. | ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ. | „ | 19 Jan. | 10 |
| Artamitius. | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΣ. | „ | 18 Feb. | 26 |
| Theudæsius. | ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ. | „ | 19 Mar. | 1 |
| Dalius. | ΔΑΛΙΟΣ. | „ | 18 April | 36 |
| Hyacinthius. | ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ. | „ | 17 May | 23 |
| Sminthius. | ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ. | „ | 16 June | 12 |
| Carneius. | ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ. | „ | 15 July | 8 |
| Panamus. | ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ. | „ | 14 Aug. | 26 |
| Deuteral Panamus. | ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ. | „ | (Embolism.) | 2 |

The Doric year is supposed to have begun at the autumnal equinox, or rather with the new moon which followed. Its months must have consisted of thirty and of twenty-nine days alternately; for it had an intercalary month destined to equalize the solar with the lunar revolutions. How the embolism fell, depends on the nature of the cycle,

respecting which there is no information; and it was precisely through the cities' having adopted cycles of their own independently, that such a confusion of calendars was produced as sometimes obliged Greek writers themselves to confess their inability to detect coincidence.[80]

The months at Rhodes, as was usual every where, were named from religious festivals which occurred in each. The order they have received in the preceding Table is in a great degree conjectural. Adequate inquiry might lead to some more authentic sequence; but there must always remain much uncertainty in the matter, as months of the same name often held dissimilar places in the civil year of different cities. A column joined to the Table shows how many examples of each month occurred to me at Alexandria; because that circumstance may possibly be worth notice as an indication. It seems natural to suppose that the labours of the potter were most active in spring and autumn; and least active, at Rhodes, during the heavy rains of winter and the excessive heat of midsummer.[81]

*Thesmophorius.*—The Thesmophoria, well known festivals of Ceres, commenced at Athens on the eleventh of Pyanepsion, so that they fell in October. A Cretan calendar in the Medicean *hemerologium*[82]

[80] Professor Boeckh makes the general remark, "Variorum populorum menses, qui sibi secundum legitimos annorum cardines respondent, non quovis conveniunt anno, nisi cyclus intercalationum utrique populo idem sit, . . . quod tamen negligere solent chronologi."—C. I. vol. i. p. 734.

[81] "Finguntur (lateres) optime vere; nam solstitio rimosi fiunt."—Plin. xxxv. 49. "Ducendi autem sunt per vernum tempus et autumnale, ut uno tenore siccescant."—Vitruv. II. 3.

[82] The hemerologia of the Florence and Leyden libraries are in

names this month, and makes it begin on the 23rd of September, which Ideler thinks was the first day of the year.[83]

*Diosthyus*—(the sacrifice of Jupiter).—The name of this month, on manubrial stamps, occurs for the first time at Alexandria. In inscriptions it has already appeared.[84] It may have been the same with the Macedonian Dius (October); which, though it held dissimilar places in the civil year of Asiatic cities, still, in five cases out of seven, coincided with the autumn season.

*Agrianius*.—The Agriania were celebrated at Argos and at Thebes; perhaps in winter, and in honour of Chthonian Bacchus, as their character is said by Hesychius to have been funereal. This is known to have been one of the months used at Cos.[85]

*Pedageitnius*.—The name of this month would have been hitherto unknown, but for a single inscription of Cos, published lately by Dr. Ross.[86] That circumstance enhances perhaps the interest of its de-

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Ideler's Handbuch, but more fully in the 'Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.' XLVII. pp. 81—84. It is held that the Cretan calendar is of some late period, and certainly the few names of months scattered through the inscriptions of Hierapytna, Latus, Olus, and Priansus, are quite different. It is not, however, so clear that the common opinion is altogether correct. That the names of some Cretan months should have been adopted in Rhodes is quite conceivable, for a part of the island had been peopled by Cretans (Diod. v. 59), who seem to have long remained distinct. Perhaps Thesmophorius and Theudæsius, if not other months, were of that origin.

[83] Handbuch, I. 426.

[84] Boeckh, C. I. 2448, 2525 b.

[85] Vita Hippocr. ap. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. XII. p. 676. The reading Ἀγριάνου needs the addition of an ι, as Prof. Hermann remarks.

[86] Inscr. Gr. ined. Fasc. III. No. 311. If the apograph is right, the name of the month at Cos was written Πεταγειτνύος.

tection for the first time upon manubria. *Πέδα* is given by the lexicons as an Æolic form of *μετά*.[87] It does not, however, follow that our month agreed with the Athenian Metageitnion. The Metageitnia were festivals of Apollo, one of whose appellations at Rhodes was probably Pedageitnius.

*Badromius.*—It can hardly have coincided with the Attic Boedromion (September).

*Artamitius.*—This month belonged to many cities, and among others to Cos.[88] It was designated from the festivals of Diana.

*Theudæsius*—(Theodæsius).—Alexandria has furnished only one example of this month; but another had already been discovered in Sicily.[89] The month occurs too in the Cretan calendar already quoted, where it is made to commence on the 24th March. In the Macedonian calendar, and in those copied from it, the place of Dæsius varied from May to August. The Theodæsia were festivals of Bacchus.

*Dalius.*—It is now believed that the great Ionian panegyries at Delos coincided with the sixth and seventh of the Attic Thargelion (May), the birthdays of Apollo and Diana; and we may assume that the same holydays gave their name to the Rhodian month in which they fell.

*Hyacinthius.*—The Hyacinthia, held in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus at Amyclæ in Laconia, were

[87] The name of the Rhodian eponymus *Πεδάπατρος* (epig. No. 213) is of like formation.

[88] Ross, Inscr. Gr. Fasc. II. No. 175.

[89] Found at Eryx, and imperfect; but easily repaired:

ΕΠΙΚΡΑ[ΤΑΓ]
ΟΡΑ
ΘΕΥΔΑ[Ι]ΣΙΟΥ.—Castelli, Cl. xv. 22.

famous. From the description of them,[90] in which a day of mourning is represented as succeeded by a day of joy, it is apparent that they were a local form of the Adonia, adopted in situations where the worship of Apollo was dominant, as it was at Amyclæ and at Rhodes. The time of the year at which they were celebrated in the two places may not perhaps have been quite the same. But the *mythos* of Adonis (Thamuz) was derived from Phœnicia, and it was at Byblus that the Adonia were solemnized with most sanctity. Commercial intercourse and comparative proximity may naturally have led the Rhodians to observe the time and general forms of the Syrian commemoration, as the Alexandrians appear to have done. That time was the month of June, by the explicit testimony of St. Jerome.[91] The Cretan calendar contains a month written *Ῥαβίνθιος*, which seems to be an error of transcription for *Ὑακίνθιος*. It is there made to commence on the 24th May, so that it agrees perfectly with the indication of St. Jerome, and perhaps establishes these identifications.

*Sminthius.*—The month is not to be found in authors or upon monuments, and it now appears for the first time at Alexandria. Considering that twelve examples were discovered there, it is extraordinary that no one had yet come to light in Sicily. The month is named from a festival of the Sminthian

[90] Athen. IV. p. 139.

[91] "Quem nos Adonidem interpretati sumus, et Hebræus et Syrus sermo Thamuz vocat, unde, quia juxta gentilem fabulam in mense Junio amasius Veneris et pulcherrimus juvenis occisus esse et deinceps revixisse narratur, eundem Junium mensem eodem appellant nomine, et anniversariam ei celebrant solemnitatem, in qua plangitur a mulieribus quasi mortuus et postea reviviscens canitur atque laudatur."—Comment. in Ezech. lib. III. c. 8.

Apollo, whose worship prevailed chiefly in the Troad, but was evidently naturalized in Rhodes also. There was a place in the island called Sminthia;[92] and the rat, the attribute of Sminthian Apollo, is found as a parergic mark both on the coins of the city and on the diotal stamps. The month is here assumed to be solstitial; but that is no more than a conjecture.

*Carneius*—named from the festivals of Apollo Carneius, common in Greek cities, but kept with most solemnity at Sparta. It appears from Herodotus[93] that they fell about the time of the Olympic games, in Hecatombæon (July), or rather immediately after those games, but that they certainly preceded the battle of Salamis in Boedromion (September). Carneius is the month in which the Athenian expedition to Sicily was destroyed by the Syracusans; and Plutarch, in the life of Nicias,[94] makes it agree with the Attic Metageitnion (August).

*Panamus.*—At Rhodes, the intercalary month was called "*second Panamus;*" and this was, no doubt, inserted either after the sixth month, like the "*second Poseideon*" at Athens, or after the twelfth. In the Macedonian calendar, and in eight others formed on that model, Panemus is the ninth month, and its coincidence fluctuates between June and September. In the Bœotian calendar it fell with the Attic Metageitnion.[95] In one of the greatest among Dorian cities, Corinth, it agreed with Boedromion;[96] and

[92] Strabo, XIII. p. 605. [93] VIII. 72. [94] Cap. 28.

[95] Plut. Camill. 19.

[96] Demosth. De Coron. p. 280. Boeckh supposes that the month at Corinth and in Bœotia fell at the same time; but that variety in the intercalations made it shift its coincidence between the latter half of one Attic month and the beginning of the next.—C. I. vol. i. p. 734.

there is reason to suppose that it closed the year in all Doric calendars.

*Deuteral Panamus.*—Two examples of this month were found at Alexandria: three others have occurred in Sicily, and are produced by Castello.

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Parergic figures, or *sigilla solitaria,* abundant on Greek and Roman coinage from the epoch of Philip, the father of Alexander, downwards, are especially numerous upon Rhodian money. Their ancient object has never been accurately determined. Eckhel supposed them to be mint marks,[97] which, taken in the sense he intended, is not among the happier conjectures of that eminent man. Devices of exactly the same kind are represented, although less frequently, upon the Rhodian manubria, where they are greatly magnified in size, owing to the space they fill being less restricted. The different types found at Alexandria, and the names of forty-three magistrates who assumed them, are these:

| | |
|---|---|
| Caduceus . . | Andricus. |
| | Andronicus. |
| | Antimachus. |
| | Ariston. |
| | Callon. |
| | Damocrates. |
| | Dracontidas. |
| | Euclitus. |
| | Hephæstion. |
| | Hierocles. |
| | Imas. |
| | Philocrates. |
| | Protus. |
| | Sosicles. |
| Botrus . . . | Heracleon. |
| Botrus . . . | Menecles. |
| | Midas. |
| | Themison. |
| Cornucopia . . | Athanodotus. |
| Garland . . . | Amyntas. |
| | Bromius. |
| | Theodorus. |
| Stars . . . . | Aristarchus. |
| Anchor . . . | Dracontidas. |
| Rat . . . . | Pythogenes. |
| Caps of the Dioscuri . . . | Demetrius. |
| | Nicias. |
| Parazonium . . | Philostephon. |
| | Rhodon. |

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[97] Doct. Num. Vet. Prolegom. I. p. cvi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Fish . . . . | Diodotus. |
| Acrostolium . . | Isidorus. |
| Crosses, flowered | Aristocrates. |
| Radiated head of Apollo (small) | Aristides.<br>Clearchus. |
| | Cleocrates. |
| | Cratidas. |
| | Symmachus. |
| | Xenophon. |
| Head of Medusa | Menestratus. |
| Botrus and Caduceus . . . | Midas.<br>Imas. |
| Torch and Garland . . . | Socrates.<br>Olympus. |
| Double Rhyton and Bipennis . | Menothemis. |
| Dolphin entwining an anchor | Menestratus. |

Few will examine this Table without at once surmising that its devices belonged to the magistrates whose names they accompany, and were borne by them much in the way that Sulla sealed with three trophies, as did Pompey afterwards;[98] Cæsar with the figure of Venus armed,[99] and Augustus with a sphinx,[100] in the earlier portion of his career. The example of the latter, who thrice changed his signet, might at the same time lead us to expect some inconstancy in the matter; and the parallel, correct in the main, might possibly be affected by some other distinctions. The Table indeed seems to indicate, that although a Rhodian magistrate generally adhered to a single parergic mark, throughout the diotal seals of his year,[101] it was neither as the inherent cognizance of the individual or of a family, like our armorial bearings,[102] nor as the abstract

[98] Dion Cass. XLII. 18. [99] Ibid. XLIII. 43.

[100] "In diplomatibus, libellisque et epistolis signandis, initio sphinge usus est; mox imagine Magni Alexandri; novissime sua."—Sueton. Aug. 50. The *frog* of Mecænas was dreaded at Rome, as it was affixed to the edicts which imposed taxes.—Plin. H. N. XXXVII. 4.

[101] Dracontidas and Menestratus varied; unless indeed there were two eponymi of each name at different times. Midas and Imas, who used the caduceus and botrus united, frequently dropped one or the other.

[102] It does appear that devices on seal rings sometimes had that character; for Galba bore a dog looking from the prow of a ship, and this device he had from his ancestors.—Dion Cass. LI. 3. The

symbol of any particular magistrature; but rather as a sign which was personal to himself in his official capacity, or in the discharge of some particular branch of its duties. The same type was adopted at different times by many eponymi; the caduceus, for instance, by fourteen. The city evidently affected a particular series of such emblems; one of which may have been selected on entering office, or as often as occasion required. Nine of those on the manubria are also encountered on the coins of Rhodes, described by Mionnet. It is difficult to say whether this public and perhaps religious character deterred the magistrates from any recourse to the pictural allusions, naturally suggested by such names as Rhodon, Dracontidas, Pythogenes, Philostephanus. The distinctive types of several Greek cities certainly have such relation, as the rose of Rhodes, the parsley of Selinus, the apple of Melos, the pomegranate of Side, the heart of Cardia; and the parergic marks which the Romans, imitating the practices of Greek coinage, have left upon their consular and family money, occasionally reveal clearly a personal signification. Thus the foot is introduced parergically on coins struck by the curule ædile P. Furius Crassipes, the *murex*-shell on those of L. Furius Purpureo, the flower on those of L. Aquillius Florus, the hammer on those of C. Poblicia Malleolus. What then the sigilla were on Roman, they doubtless were, in the main, on Greek money. They do not occur on that of Rhodes so often as the names of magistrates; but where they exist at all, it is upon the reverses and along with those names,

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practice of placing emblems upon shields was introduced very anciently by the Carian islanders.—Herod. I. 171.

in the same way and with the same apparent object as on the pottery. That object, at least originally, must have been one of public convenience. The name of the eponymus had various important uses; of which its employment as the ordinary date of the year was but one; and it was made plain to every body, by being doubly expressed,—in letters for those who could read, and by the figure of some natural object for the illiterate.[103] It is the motive which, a century or two back, led every shopkeeper to trade under a sign. Some cities placed, on their money, sigilla, but no eponymic names; others names, but not sigilla. Many coinages, especially those of Alexander and his successors, have the parergic types accompanied by monograms,[104] which may be the *grammatic* names of eponymi, abbreviated. It is the more probable, as some names of the kind are written at length on the money of Alexander, Lysimachus, &c.; and also because Syracuse cannot have been the only place where the years continued to be named from the civic eponymus, even after the form of government had become monarchial.[105]

There are a few manubria which, besides the usual stamp, have upon their sides a small punched countermark. One of these contains the single letter or numeral Θ, another K, a third KA, a fourth O, and

[103] The necessity was the same where the magistrate who presided over the coinage did not happen to be eponymus.

[104] Here again Eckhel supposes mint marks, either arbitrary or intelligible only to the officers and others concerned.—D. N. V. Proleg. p. xcv. Great respect is due to every opinion of one whose comprehensive views brought order and sound criticism into numismatic science; but we must regret that there are subordinate details, sometimes important, which he dismissed too hastily.

[105] Ante, p. 19.

one the radiated head of Helius. Their purpose is not obvious.

Philological criticism is beyond the aim of this inquiry; but it may note certain singularities which ordinary observation and a little time render apparent. These are the Doricisms of orthography in the Rhodian epigraphs. The favourite vowel of the Dorians, the broad **Α**, continually replaces **Ε** and **Η**, as **ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΥ** for **ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ**. One vowel is sometimes used for another, or is converted into a diphthong indifferently. Thus the same names are written **ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ** and **ΑΛΙΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ**; **ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ** and **ΤΙΜΟΘΗΟΥ**; **ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ** for **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ**;[106] **ΚΛΗΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ** and **ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ**, even on seals of the same month; **ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ** and **ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ**, also in one month.[107] Elision of the final vowel of the preposition ἐπὶ takes place before the word Ἱερέως, but rarely before proper names beginning with vowels. We have **ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**, **ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΥ**, &c.; the exceptions being **ΕΠ ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ** and **ΕΠ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ**. There is a single example of **ΕΦ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ** upon a seal of Timagoras. There are two instances only, and both of them very plain, in which the name of a month, accompanied by that of a magistrate, is otherwise than in the genitive case. The one is **ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ ΖΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ**; rendered further peculiar by **Ζ** being substituted for **Σ**, as on some coins of Smyrna, and also by the omission of the final **Υ** in the proper name: the other instance is **ΞΟΙΝΑΙϤΛ ΑΔΙΤΟϤΒΜΙΞΙΞΛΚ**.

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[106] Also **ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΥ** and **ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ** for **ΘΕΟΔΑΙΣΙΟΥ** and **ΚΛΕΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ**.

[107] There is the same variety in the epigraphs of Aristides, Timagoras, and Tisagoras.

Names ending in *as* take in the genitive the Doric termination *a*; as ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ, ΑΜΥΝΤΑ:[108] those in *ης* have the genitive contracted in *ευς*, which seems to differ from *εος* only by the Doric change of *υ* for *ο*, common in these epigraphs. Thus ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ, and all names of the same kind, instead of making ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ, or ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ, or ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, as on the Syracusan coins, forms ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ on the Rhodian manubria. ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ alone, makes indifferently ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ and ΣΩΣΙΚΛΥΣ.

The Doric change of *ου* into *ω* does not at all occur. We have indeed what is much the same, ΑΡΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ, ΕΙΣΙΛΩΧΟ, and ΡΑΝΑΚΤΟ, affectations of archaism; for that form of genitive is usual on the older coins, ending upon the Macedonian, with the reign of Archelaus, 399 B. C. A similar caprice, most prevalent at a late period when lunated letters were already used, must account for several names being inscribed from right to left, or even in *βουστροφηδόν*.[109] Still the same magistrate whose name is inverted in one instance or two, has it written from left to right on all the other seals of his series.[110] In the epigraphs of Thestor and of Theodor, the letters run as usual, except the final *s*, which is reversed; a circumstance not to be attributed to inadvertence, because the engraving a metal seal supposes deliberation. It is also remarkable that these strange irregularities were practised by Greek artists through the more polished centuries; so that they may have had reference to

[108] The names Aristides, Æschines, &c., take *a* in the genitive, because their Doric termination in the nominative is *as*.

[109] As the epigraphs of Epipacus and Pedapatrus.

[110] Among seven epigraphs of Rhodon, two only read from right to left, and one only in five of Socrates.

some superstitious notion, as a mere caprice could hardly have subsisted so long. On Greek coins the legend is occasionally reversed, down to the time of Augustus, of Claudius, and even of the Antonines.[111] On the other hand, the peculiarity is found on painted vases of the best periods. One of these, which, from its style of art and the absence of long vowels, must be assigned to seventy or eighty years, at least, before the epoch of Alexander, presents seven names, of which five read in the usual direction, and two from right to left; whilst the final Σ in one of the latter is reversed.[112]

The ancient commerce of the Mediterranean is illustrated in many respects by the diotal manubria, and by the knowledge now acquired of their origin.

We are informed that Rhodes, a small island, and in part rugged, yielded little corn, nor indeed any thing more important than excellent raisins and figs,[113] together with some wine, not of high reputation. The inhabitants, therefore, were at all times dependent on other lands for subsistence, and necessity impelled them to navigation and trade, which were directed with preference towards the neighbouring markets of Egypt and Sicily,—corn-growing countries in which supply was certain. Transactions gradually enlarged their orbit; and Rhodes, centrally placed, became apparently a great intermediate station and a dépôt for food and general merchandise, much as Leghorn

[111] See examples in Mionnet, II. 273; Sup. VI. 485. Eckhel, D. N. V. II. 311.

[112] A vase in the possession of the Marquis of Northampton has the same singularity in the final ς of a name. The other vase alluded to is in my hands.

[113] Athen. I. p. 27.

and Malta are now. The astonishing opulence resulting, in ancient times, from a traffic in agricultural produce, is amply attested by that which Agrigentum acquired through the supply of Carthage. It has been aptly remarked, that we may discern with whom the Rhodians were commercially connected, and also to what relative extent, by the contributions they received from various quarters after the great earthquake which devastated their city, 227 B. C.[114] The largest donations came precisely from Egypt and from Sicily.[115]

In reality, the intercourse of the Carians with Egypt is historically certain from the period of Psammetichus (656 B. C.); and in the reign of Amasis (571–525 B. C.) the people of Rhodes, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus had a principal share in the Greek factory established at Naucratis on the Canopic branch of the Nile.[116] Herodotus notices that wine, secured in diotæ, arrived in Egypt twice in each year from Greece and Phœnicia.[117] But it was after the subversion of Tyre that the Rhodians grew into importance. They had merited the favour of Alexander

[114] Paulsen, p. 68, who cites Dio Chrysostom as evidence that they traded with Egypt, Syria, Sicily, Macedonia, Bithynia, Pontus, &c. He might have added from Aristides, that they had separate docks for the ships of Egypt, Phœnicia, Caria, and Ionia; and that the roofs of the νεώρια looked like a slanting field (vol. ii. p. 341). They must also have had important relations with the Euxine; for in 219 B. C. they declared war and blockaded the Hellespont, in order to force the Byzantians to desist from a toll which they then levied on ships passing the straits.—Polyb. IV. 50.

[115] Polyb. V. 88.

[116] Herod. II. 154, 178.

[117] III. 6. This was prior to the foundation of Alexandria (332 B. C.), and indeed of the city of Rhodes itself (408 B. C.); so that the circumstance has no direct bearing on the manubria under examination. The commercial fact is important.

by a voluntary submission; and as a maritime people, derived from a common stock, they must necessarily have had their place in his colossal schemes. Under such circumstances, the opulent trade recently displaced from the Syrian coast was allowed to flow towards their harbours, and it rendered them in time the richest of the Greeks. That result indeed may have been fortuitous to some extent; for the design of Alexander was, probably, to transfer eventually the naval supremacy of the Phœnicians, with vaster proportions, to the city of his own name which he had hastened to found in Egypt, immediately after the overthrow of Tyre. By position, and the excellence of its ports, it had every requisite condition for becoming the great emporium of trade and naval arsenal of the empire he projected. His premature death frustrated those objects in great part, and left the Rhodians the tranquil possession of their new advantages. Thence the greatness of the Republic,—the Venice of the ancient world; a parallel which holds good in the insular position of its city, its oligarchical constitution, the sources of its prosperity, and the progress of its fortunes. At the period of the celebrated siege, when it baffled the efforts of Demetrius Poliorcetes, it is said to have been at once the most beautiful and the best governed of Grecian cities.[118] Its laws of the sea, transmitted from age to age, have become the acknowledged groundwork of all maritime codes; and it is the only government of antiquity in which may be distinguished a system equivalent, as it seems, to our poor-laws.[119] Diodorus has clearly explained that the city derived its traffic

[118] Strabo, xiv. p. 652; Diod. xx. 81. [119] Strabo, xiv. 653.

and chief support from transactions with Egypt and from the resort of shipping which traded thither.[120] But nature has established so broadly the wants and superfluities of that country, that the general objects of its foreign commerce must be nearly the same in our days as in those of the Ptolemies, however much the bulk may have decreased with the numbers and the well-being of the population.[121] Among the leading articles received by Egypt were, no doubt, timber, oil, wine, metals, honey, (which then supplied many of the uses of sugar,) white slaves, dyed and embroidered tissues, arms, &c.; and returns would be effected with corn, flax, linens, sail-cloth, papyrus, gold-dust, ivory, gums, glass-wares of Alexandria, and spices from India.

That the Rhodians also maintained an active commerce with Sicily, is indicated by the frequency with which their inscribed pottery is found there. We accordingly learn that the object of their demand was corn, which they appear to have exported in large quantities;[122] and it may have been paid in great

[120] Loc. cit.

[121] There are data on which a rough notion of the difference might be founded. The population of Egypt is now 2,000,000 at most. Diodorus Siculus (I. 3), who visited the country in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes, 65, 51, B. C., estimated the then population as not less than 3,000,000. It cannot have been so great in the period of the first Ptolemy. The importations of Egypt during 1845, in its Mediterranean ports (Alexandria and Damietta), were worth £1,041,049, and the exports were worth £1,874,133. In 1846, the imports at Alexandria were worth £1,310,182, and the exports £1,552,061.

[122] Although Polybius (V. 88) mentions generally an exemption from navigation dues, accorded by King Hiero II., after the great earthquake of Rhodes, 227 B. C., it is Diodorus who notices precisely that immunity was given "*to the corn ships*" (*τοῖς σιτηγοῖς πλοίοις,*

part with precious wines from the continent and isles of Asia Minor, along with Egyptian linens dyed by themselves; for that was an art which they had inherited from the Tyrians. Syracuse, as the chief city of Sicily and an excellent port, was probably the station of their ships; but it is likely that they visited the different points of the coast where corn could be had abundantly and at first-hand; for so they might spare the freight of coasting craft, and better barter their own commodities, by taking them to the doors of those who had the means to become consumers. At Syracuse, very few manubria have been found. The two points at which they have appeared most numerously are Alicata, and Monte S. Giuliano, near to Trapani; both places on the southern coast. Alicata is certainly the site of Phintia; to which the people of Gela were removed, about 282 B. C.[123] The Geloans were colonists from Rhodes; and Alicata stands at the angle of a vast corn-bearing plain;—the old "campi Geloï," now "la pianura di Terranova;"—circumstances which account sufficiently for the resort of the Rhodians to that locality. Monte S. Giuliano is the site of the

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XXVI. Ecl. 6); denoting thereby the nature of the ordinary trade with Sicily. When the Romans became masters of the island, its produce was required for the consumption of Italy, and the Rhodians were not supplied otherwise than under special permissions, one of which was partly the object of an embassy in 168 B. C. The senate, on that occasion, granted liberty to export 100,000 *medimni*, about 18,750 imperial quarters.—Polyb. XXVIII. 2.

[123] The inscription noticed in p. 23 was found at Alicata. From the form of the letters, it can hardly be dated higher than the period of the Roman conquest; so that it clearly was not brought from Gela, but shows that the people of Phintia continued to call themselves Geloï.

Sicanian town Eryx, famous for its ancient temple of Aphrodite, to which numerous hierodoulæ were attached, as at Corinth and elsewhere. This temple, revered by the Romans as well as by the Greeks, and indeed rebuilt by Tiberius,[124] was assiduously frequented by both peoples; and it may be presumed that in a place devoted to a sensual worship, there was an extraordinary demand for the Chian, Lesbian, and other expensive wines imported by the Rhodians. Wheresoever else they traded, diotal manubria, with the names of their eponymi, must certainly exist. Observation has hitherto been wanting,—not monuments. Two such handles were found at Xanthus by Sir Charles Fellows; the one bearing a circular stamp with the Rhodian flower surrounded by the legend ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ, the other inscribed ΙΜΑ, with a caduceus.[125] Both are precise counterparts of Nos. 166 and 169, discovered at Alexandria.

The ordinary *diotæ*, or pointed amphoræ, of which the handles are before us, were really the casks of ancient times. The stamps they bear are the public mark and seal, attesting the legal gauge of the vessels; an obvious convenience to trade, by economizing the time, the loss, and charges of re-measurement. That object appears to have been deemed so important, that authority was added to it by employing, as on the coinage, the name of the eponymus, and the solemn symbols of the republic; which thus authenticated in the same form its standards of value and of capacity.

[124] Tacit. Ann. iv. 43.

[125] The information is due to the kindness of Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, where they are deposited. They indicate the commercial intercourse which was sure to exist between neighbouring people, and we need not look further; although Lycia with Caria belonged to the Rhodians from 189 B.C. to 167 B.C.

Such is, perhaps, the more natural explanation of the manubrial stamps. They can hardly have been intended to attest the date of the wine,[126] for in that respect they offered no security whatever against fraud, because the same vessel might be employed repeatedly. Besides, that is not properly a public object: the other is strictly so. The amphora, too, was not simply a cask, but represented a specific measure of capacity, both with the Greeks and Romans. The latter did not stamp theirs in general, if at all; but there was a standard amphora kept at Rome, in the Capitol, and to it there must have been frequent and very troublesome reference. This inconvenience the Rhodians avoided by their public seal, which rendered every individual amphora a standard.

Among the objects of merchandise imported in diotæ, were necessarily wines, oil, *salsamenta*, which included fish cut into lumps and preserved in salt, as also soused olives (olivæ conditæ), olives dry-salted (olivæ nigræ), and such like articles; honey,[127] liquamen, vinegar, raisins, *bumastæ*, or hard grapes,[128]

[126] To prevent the wine from being smoked or otherwise injured in the process of ripening artificially, the bungs of the diotæ must have been covered with some hard substance, not affected by heat. On this cement the proprietor probably marked, by some means, the names of the Consuls. Sometimes the date may have been cut or branded on a label of wood (*pittacium*) tied to the handles; or it was simply daubed with pitch upon the vase itself.—This of course refers to Roman practices.

[127] In the fictitious letters of Chion, he is made to say of a present he had received, *ἐκόμισέ μοι Φαίδιμος, ταρίχους Ῥοδίου καὶ μέλιτος ἀμφορέας πέντε*.—Ep. VI.

[128] "Non ego te mensis et diis accepta secundis
Transierim Rhodia, et tumidis bumaste racemis."
Virg. Georg. II. 101–2.

and the semi-fluid butter which is still largely consumed in the Levant.

The dates of the manubrial epigraphs, and of the magistrates whose names they perpetuate, must needs extend over a wide space of time. The oldest are perhaps coeval with the foundation of Alexandria (332 B. C.); or, at all events, with its rise into importance under the first of the Lagidæ. The reasonable presumption is before us, that the seals of Amyntas, Damophilus, and Menedamus, are assignable to Rhodian citizens conspicuous in the historical events of the war with Antigonus (304–303 B. C.). The most recent epigraphs—few, however, in number—may be of the period of Vespasian. The Rhodians having crucified certain Roman citizens, were first deprived of their institutions by Claudius.[129] These they recovered through the interposition of the youthful Nero;[130] but about sixteen years later, the city was finally deprived of its liberties, and reduced to the provincial form.[131] To this interval of four hundred years the manubria must be ascribed; and as we have reason to believe that the priesthood of the Sun was an annual office, the epigraphs afford, in some sort, the eponymic fasti of the republic for more than a third part of that important period.[132]

[129] Dion Cass. LX. 24. [130] Tacit. Ann. XII. 58.

[131] "Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, libertate ademtâ, in provinciarum formam redegit."—Suet. Vespas. 8.

[132] The objects of this memoir having been simply to introduce the monuments found at Alexandria, and at the same time to submit some cursory suggestions of my own for their explanation,—as the work of Professor Hermann was not procurable in London, I had contented myself with the lists of Doric months extracted for me, as already stated in *note* 79. Owing therefore to my own neglect, the treatise of Professor Hermann and that of Dr. Bergk were not pro-

CNIDIAN EPIGRAPHS.

Inscribed manubria of the second class encountered at Alexandria, appear to be of novel occurrence; for

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cured from Germany until the first sheet of this Paper was in type. They have directed my attention to some other writings by Germans, and those that could be found have been examined.

At p. 103, Professor Hermann mentions that an article of the 'Neue Jenaische Literatur Zeitung' (No. 103, 1842) describes certain manubria found about the Sarmatian Olbia. The writer appears to have noticed the presence of the pomegranate flower on one handle; and, upon others, the names of Doric months which could hardly have been used in Olbia, a town of the Ionians. He therefore conjectured that the handles were from Rhodes, an opinion to which Professor Hermann does not assent; because the emblem, according to him, is a pomegranate *fruit*, and not a pomegranate *flower*. Possibly the doubtful monument may be that extracted by Boeckh, C. I. 2085 f, from Plate II. fig. 15 of Köppen's 'Nordgestade des Pontus.' Its epigraph is ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ, and Boeckh says, "Ansa videtur flore loto simili ornata esse." He thinks that it may be from Chersonesus. The mention of an Astynomus, and comparison with other handles found at Olbia, show the probability that it is from some Greek city on the Euxine,—from Rhodes, it certainly is not. If Doric months are read upon some of those handles, the fact is of weight, but it does not fix their origin. That the Rhodians may have traded with Olbia is indeed likely, and the sagacious indication of the Jena writer,—whose name is not mentioned,—should prompt further inquiry. There is no trace, in Professor Hermann's work, that the Sicilianism of the manubria and of the months reported by Castello was at all brought into doubt by the question as to those of Olbia. Dr. Bergk, who wrote in 1845, seems to be the first to express (p. 24) some doubt whether *all* the handles found in Sicily are really of the island, since foreign wines must obviously have come there in foreign jars; and he concludes his observations by saying that the whole subject calls for an accurate investigation upon the spot, which could not fail to conduct to new discoveries.

I have also been led to a letter on Sicilian inscriptions, written in 1836 by M. Raoul Rochette, and published in the 'Rheinisches

although their existence in Sicily is not improbable, none have been as yet described by the writers of that island. This class comprises forty-three examples, of which four only are duplicates. The earth is coarser than the Rhodian; its colour darker and more dull. It breaks with a rough fracture, displaying very minute particles of black micaceous sand, and the heart has often taken in the kiln the livid hue of ashes. These handles are so much slighter than the Rhodian, that they must have belonged to diotæ of another shape,—smaller perhaps, and consequently less weighty. They are not cylindrical, but irregularly flat; their width 1½ inch to 2 inches; their thickness ¾ inch. Each extended three inches horizontally from the neck of the vessel, and was then deflected; not at right angles, like the Rhodian, but always with a curve. The perpendicular portion, which can hardly have been very long, appears to have decreased a little in width as it approached the body of the vase. Upon the top of the *ear* was impressed the stamp, usually a rectangular cartouch 1½ inch long by ⅞ inch high. Occasionally it is circular or oval, or of a lozenge form, and sometimes it assumes the shape of an ivy-leaf.

The origin of these seals need not be sought by

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Museum' of Dr. Welcker (iv. 63). A note to p. 86 relates to the manubrial epigraphs. The views are adopted from Bishop Munter, ('Epist. de Monument. aliquot Scriptis.' p. 9. Hafniæ, 1822,) and they need not now be canvassed. M. Rochette further mentions the interesting fact that a handle obtained by him at Acre is inscribed ΕΠ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΟΡΚΥΛΑΙΔΑ. The name of that magistrate, with a month, occurs (epig. 138) in the Alexandrian series; and he is now the sixteenth eponymus of Rhodes whose official title has been found expressed.

any inductive process; it meets the eye at once. They issued from a Carian city not very remote from Rhodes; and the greater number bear in full, or abbreviated, the name of the people, **ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ** (*Κνιδίων*).

The names of Cnidian magistrates, preserved by the pottery, are forty-eight in number:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Demiurgus | Eugenus . . . . | Irenidas. |
| The Demiurgus | Calleodotus . . | Dionysius. |
| | Dionysius . . . | Nicippus. |
| | Proagoras . . . | Alcæus. |
| | Nicidas . . . . | Athenæus. |
| | Diocles . . . . | Menestratus. |
| | Menippus . . . | Heniochus. |
| | Gnye . . . | Hipparchus. |
| | Poliouchus . . . | Aristagalus. |
| | Eu . . . . | Hippolochus. |
| | Eurocleus . . . | Niceas. |
| | Diogenes . . . | Democlus. |
| | Philambulus . . | Aristogenes. |
| | M . . . . . | Xanthus. |
| | Asclepiodorus . | Theophides.[133] |
| | | Anaxander (alone). |
| | Asclepiodorus . | Anaxander. |
| | Menecrates . . | Anaxander. |
| | Callidamas . . | Anaxander. |
| | Cleombrotus . . | Anaxander. |
| | | Cleombrotus (alone). |
| | Theodoridas . . | Hysocles. |
| | | Theodoridas (alone). |
| | Timacles . . . . | Nicasibulus. |
| | Eucrates . . . . | Nicasibulus. |
| | | Eucrates (alone). |

[133] **ΘΕΥΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ** (Pape, p. 167), from silver coins of Cyrene. But it is not a nominative case there. Most names, or all, upon those coins are in the possessive: **ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ, ΔΑΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ,** &c. Those ending in **ΕΥΣ** are genitives of names in **ΗΣ,** Dorically formed in the way we see upon the manubria.

| | |
|---|---|
| Therocrates . . | Apollonius. |
| | Apollonius (alone). |
| . . a . . . eus . | Aristocles. |
| Eu . . . . | Euclides. |
| | Amyntas (alone). |
| | Thersandrus (id.) |
| | Agathinus (id.) |
| | Timoxenus (id.) |
| | Eubulus (id.) |
| | Zenas (id.) |
| | Philinus (id.) |
| | Diodotus (id.) |

The proper names of the list, which do not appear in Dr. Pape's Dictionary,[134] are ten:

| | |
|---|---|
| Irenidas. | Eurocleus. |
| Calleodotus. | Hysocles. |
| Timacles. | Theophides. |
| Polyouchus. | Nicasibulus. |
| Philambulus. | Therocrates. |

With respect to the history and topography of Cnidus, our most valuable information is embodied in the learned Memoir, prefixed to the description of its remains, contained in the third volume of the 'Antiquities of Ionia.' Documents, however, are nearly or quite wanting for two important centuries,—from about 390 B. C., down to the latter part of the war with Antiochus the Great, 190 B. C.

The city appears to have preserved its liberties long after those of Rhodes were extinct. It was free in the time of Vespasian, and is so mentioned by Pliny.[135] There are imperial coins of Cnidus from Nerva to Caracalla, and among them are some which bear the head of the Empress Faustina, accompanied

[134] Wörterbuch der Griechischen eigennamen.

by the names of native magistrates. Several circumstances indicate that the city recognized obligations to the Antonines. Like Rhodes, it must have suffered from the earthquake which desolated Asia Minor in the reign of Antoninus Pius; and the empress may have assumed the care of restoring a city sacred to Venus.[136]

A much higher antiquity than the age of the Antonines is hardly announced by the greater number of the epigraphs, comparing them with those of coins struck in Asia Minor. If of a time posterior to Septimius Severus, the lunated C and Є and the open Ω would be more constantly employed: if they dated prior to Trajan, or at all events to Domitian, the letters so shaped would appear upon them less frequently; so that, on the whole, they may be referred with reason to the century between the accession of Vespasian and the death of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 69–180.[137] A few, as for instance that of Eugenus and Irenidas, are clearly of still later times, and might even be dated between the reigns of Caracalla and Diocletian.

The form ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ, general on these handles, is an affectation of archaism which occurs too on the coins of the city, like ΡΟΔΙΟΝ on those of Rhodes; only that it is more variable on monies, and often yields to the ordinary penultimate Ω. The retrograde legends are attributable to the same caprice.

[136] "Adversa ejus" (Antonini Pii) "temporibus, hæc provenerunt; . . . terræmotus quo Rhodiorum et Asiæ oppida conciderunt; quæ omnia mirifice instauravit." (Jul. Capitol. V. Ant. Pii IX.)

[137] In the epigraphs, there is sometimes a mixture of the ordinary and of the lunated letters; the E being of the one, and the C of the other. The same thing is not uncommon upon coins of the time of Marcus Aurelius, and even earlier.

A coin of Cnidus, bearing the head of Faustina, has the ethnical name written similarly from right to left, ИΩІΔІИЖ.[138]

The Doric peculiarities which occur in the Cnidian epigraphs do not differ from those already noticed in the Rhodian; the most prominent being, that names terminating in ΗΣ make ΕΥΣ in the genitive, and that those in ΑΣ take Α in the same case.[139]

The parergic devices, and the names of the magistrates who adopted each,[140] are these:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Caduceus . . . . . | | Cleombrotus (alone). |
| Club . . . . . | | Anaxander (alone). |
| | Cleombrotus . . | Anaxander. |
| | Callidamas . . | Anaxander. |
| | Menecrates . . | Anaxander. |
| | Diogenes . . . | Democlus. |
| Prow of a Galley . . . | M . . . . . | Xanthus. |
| | Eurocleus . . . | Niceas. |
| Sceptre . . . . . | Diocles . . . . | Menestratus. |
| Bull's head . . . . . | Gnye . . . . | Hipparchus. |
| | Poliouchus . . | Aristagalus. |
| | | Aristocles (alone). |
| Botrus . . . . . | Asclepiodorus . | Theophides. |
| Diota . . . . . | | Apollonius (alone). |
| | | Amyntas (alone). |
| Trident . . . . . | Philambulus . . | Aristogenes. |
| | | Eubulus (alone). |
| Lance head . . . . . | | Theodoridas (alone). |
| Star . . . . . | Nicidas . . . . | A[thenæus]. |
| Anchor . . . . . | Timacles . . . | Nicasibulus. |
| Barley-corn? . . . . | Eu . . . . . | Euclides. |

On the silver money of Cnidus, the caduceus, the prow, but particularly the club, are frequently repro-

[138] Mionnet, Sup. VI. p. 485.

[139] There is the same propensity, as in the Rhodian epigraphs, to change Ο into Υ. Thus we have ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ, ΘΕΥΦΙΔΕΥΣ, and ΘΕΥΔΩΡΙΔΑΣ.

[140] Ante, p. 44.

duced as parergic marks, with or without the names of magistrates. On the pottery, the diota and the bull's head appear rather as national types; for they occupy the whole field of circular stamps, so as to become principal, not accessorial objects. The latter emblem was met with frequently on manubria of the Cnidian shape, which I threw aside, because, with the exceptions of Nos. 293 and 314, their legends had been completely effaced. It may also be seen figured in the same way upon brass coins of Cnidus, certainly of imperial times.

The individuals recorded by the manubria cannot be easily recognized, owing to our want of documents. As none of the silver coins of Cnidus are of so late a period, it would be idle to seek identities in the names they offer. Still the ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ on a brass coin of the British Museum is most probably the same magistrate named with Menestratus on duplicate handles. The ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟC of another brass coin reported by Mionnet,[141] and of which Colonel Leake possesses an example, may also be the same whose name appears on the pottery.

The arrangement of the year and the nomenclature of the months were probably alike at Cnidus and at Rhodes; but it is remarkable that no month is expressed on the diotal epigraphs of the former city.

On the other hand, whilst the Rhodian pottery offers uniformly the name of a single magistrate and no more, the Cnidian varies in this respect; exhibiting sometimes one, but oftener two. The preposition ἐπὶ precedes

[141] Tome iii. p. 341. It may be useful to add that a copper coin of Cnidus, belonging to Colonel Leake, is inscribed ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ, a name which may occur hereafter upon manubria.

or is understood, and both names stand in the genitive case.[142] The coins of Dyrrhachium and of Apollonia very frequently bear two names; the first in the nominative, the other in the genitive. Eckhel, with his accustomed sagacity, had detected that the second name is not a patronymic, but that it represents a magistrate as much as the first.[143] This conclusion indeed was forced upon his notice by finding, even within the range of the Vienna cabinet, that a particular name in the direct case was often followed on separate pieces by various names in the possessive;—Alcæus, for instance, by not less than eight; which could not, of course, be so many fathers of one individual. The observation of Eckhel applies with very slight difference to the Cnidian epigraphs, where likewise the second name is no patronymic; for we encounter that of Anaxander, both alone as eponymus, and preceded on different handles by four other names, which can hardly have belonged to so many magistrates, sons of one father.

Nothing is more probable than that the institutions of Cnidus and of Rhodes were alike; for they were neighbouring cities, both Dorian, and necessarily in constant intercourse. Cnidus, however, was by many centuries the older of the two; and, long before the foundation of the other, was the centre of a league

[142] There is indeed (ИОІΔ)ІИК ƷΗΤΑϤΚΥƎ; but on another seal the same magistrate appears ΕΠΙ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΑΣΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ. There is also ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟΣ. As for ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕ[Ω]Ν, it is certainly an abbreviation caused by want of room.

[143] "Sic ea vocabula explicanda censeo, ut utrumque notet urbis magistratum diversa auctoritate præditum; et in eo, qui in gignendi casu effertur, subaudire oporteat præpositionem ΕΠΙ."—D. N. V. vol. ii. p. 153.

of cities in Caria having a common origin. They were, Lindus, Ialysus and Cameirus, in Rhodes; Cos and Halicarnassus; constituting, with Cnidus itself, an hexapolis, which became a pentapolis by the subsequent excommunication of the Halicarnassians. Upon the headland, or rather islet, Triopium, which lay, relatively to Cnidus, much as the island Pharos lies to Alexandria, stood what may have been the primitive portion of the town, and also a much-revered temple of the Sun. It was there the people of the confederation assembled periodically for deliberation, and to celebrate games in honour of Apollo. He was eminently the deity of the Dorians;[144] and the old hymn to the god, enumerating his sacred places, includes the "lofty Cnidus." When it was written, and until long after, the worship was seemingly dominant there: his temple, full of gifts and consecrated prizes, had then a political and religious consequence sure to render it pre-eminent in the city; where its minister probably enjoyed those distinctions which we have already recognized in the same priesthood at Rhodes. After the Dorian league had ceased to exist, with political objects, the importance of the Triopian sanctuary naturally declined; but it was chiefly obscured in the reign of Alexander, when the naked statue by Praxiteles gave a lustre and popular vogue to the temple of Venus, which were the means of rendering her worship thenceforth more conspicuous at Cnidus. The old traditions survived, notwithstanding, in a modified form; for in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Dorians in common continued to celebrate games at Triopium,

[144] Müller, B. II. c. 10.

sacred to Apollo, the Nymphs, and Neptune.[145] In those games the priest of Helius may still have presided, both by the usage of past ages, and as retaining the civic eponymy.

Respecting, however, the offices borne at Cnidus, we as yet possess little available information beyond that which may be elicited from an inscription preserved by the care of Colonel Leake.[146] It is a

[145] The Memoir on Cnidus, already cited, supplies the ancient authorities, and very interesting details concerning the religion of the city. Throughout the whole may be discerned the plain distinction of an old Dorian worship, highly national in character, and of another newer, adventitious, and popular. The first was that of Helius, without admixture. Herodotus, when the league of the pentapolis was in being, spoke only of *ἀγὼν τοῦ Τριοπίκου Ἀπόλλωνος* (I. 144); and if another writer says, *Ἄγεται δὲ κοινῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Δωρείων ἄγων ἐν Τριοπίῳ, Νύμφαις, Ἀπόλλωνι, Ποσειδῶνι*, it is the scholiast of Theophrastus who makes the statement on the authority of Aristides, who lived six centuries after Herodotus. By that time it may very well have become necessary to associate Poseidon and the Nymphs in the antiquated rites of Apollo, in order to gratify the inhabitants of other cities, especially the Ionians, and thereby to attract a greater concourse of visitors to the games; which had, in some respects, the nature and objects of modern fairs. It will be perceived that the fact furnished by the scholiast is of service to our inquiry; because many of the Cnidian seals may belong to the era in which Aristides flourished.

[146] Α ΒΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΝ
ΝΕΙΚΑΔΑ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΑΡ. ΑΥΡ. ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΔΙΣ,
ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ-
ΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ,
ΑΡΕΤΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ
ΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΜΕΝΑΝ, ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΣΑΝ
ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΣ, ΤΑΝ ΤΕΙΜΑΝ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ

dedication, dating, perhaps far on, in the period of the Antonines, and in which the senate and people award a statue, or other honorary mark, to "Aurelia Irene, the daughter of Nicedas, and wife of the most excellent Marcus Aurelius Eudoxus, (the son of Eudoxus,)[147] Priest for life of the very great and

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ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΣ ΚΑΘ Α ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΥΠΕΣΧΕΤΟ

ΘΕΟΙΣ.

—'Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor,' p. 226; also in Boeckh, C. I. G. 2653.

Venus was the goddess chiefly worshipped at Cnidus in the time of this inscription. Her famous statue by Praxiteles was there. Her head is on the silver coins of the city. Irene perhaps occupied the priesthood of Venus, necessarily an exalted dignity in that situation. It is not named on the stone, as being superfluous;—either because it was still held by Irene, and so notorious; or rather because the statue stood within the pronaos of the temple itself, or in the perfumed bowers of the *τέμενος* described by Lucian. The panegyries over which Irene presided may have been quinquennial Aphrodisia; like the Erotidia which were celebrated at Thespiæ every fifth year (Athen. XIII. 561). A mutilated Cnidian inscription ('Tour in Asia Minor,' *l. c.*) has something about *γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν πενταετηρικός*; but the reference may be to the games of Apollo, the Nymphs, and Poseidon.

Thus, then, the husband and the wife had filled the two highest priesthoods of their native city: Eudoxus as eponymic priest of the Sun in his ancient Triopian temple; Irene as priestess of Venus. The former had also discharged the duties of chief civil magistrate (Demiurgus), probably before he held the priesthood; but, at all events, for a single year, or year by year.

The name Irenidas, which appears upon a Cnidian manubrium, calls for notice, as possibly denoting descent from the priestess Irene, who had merited, as we see, public honours. It is also obvious that this Irenidas was not Demiurgus; so that he must have been hierarchal eponymus, like Eudoxus before him.

[147] "Δὶς implies that Eudoxus bore the same name as his father." —Note to Mem. on Cnidus, p. 10.

brilliant Sun, and Demiurgus." Of these two offices, held by a distinguished citizen, the priesthood of Helius,—doubtless identical with that of Apollo in Triopium,—is mentioned first as being the higher dignity. What it was in Rhodes has been discussed, and it has been found that it included the ritual presidency of the republic and the eponymic character. The title Demiurgus evidently appertained to the first civil magistrate, having the same functions as the Prytanis at Rhodes; for it was borne by the chief of the executive in some other Dorian cities, particularly in those of the Achæan league.[148]

Upon duplicate manubria of Cnidian pottery, found at Alexandria, we read

ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΥ ΚΑ[ΛΛ]ΕΟΔΟΤ[Ο]Υ ΔΙ[Ο]ΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ;

and upon a third example,

ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΡΗΝΙΔΑ;[149]

and they seem to warrant the inference, that wherever these seals exhibit two names, the first is always the Demiurgus.

It remains, however, to discover what was the rank of the second individual recorded by the epigraphs: was he superior or inferior to the Demiurgus? was he a sacerdotal or a civil magistrate? Here the parergic types come in aid, and afford some interesting indications. A seal on which

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[148] "Damiurgis civitatum, qui summus est magistratus, Philopœmen (Prætor tum erat) Argos conventum edixit."—Liv. xxxviii. 30. The Δημιουργοὶ seem to have been chief magistrates at Mantinea, and perhaps at Elis, much earlier (Thucyd. v. 47).

[149] The varying orthography of the word Demiurgus will be remarked. The second epigraph is by much the latest.

Anaxander appears *alone*, shows the club as an emblem, and it is equally present on three other seals where his name stands *second* after those of as many different magistrates. The club, therefore, is *his* device. Cleombrotus, when alone, has the caduceus; doubtless his emblem when placed in the same position which Anaxander occupied when *alone*. But when Cleombrotus stands *first* of two, his caduceus is absent, and is replaced by the club, because the name of Anaxander is *last*. Hence it seems to follow that the parergic emblem belongs usually to the magistrate named second of two; that where a name appears singly, it is that of the officer who would stand last, were two names present; and that the rank of the second was highest, since he was both self-sufficient, and alone entitled to adopt the public symbols. But it is ascertained that the first name is assignable to the Demiurgus, the head of the executive: the magistrate named after him cannot have surpassed that rank, unless invested with a sacred sacerdotal dignity. In such case the hierarch must have been eponymus; for, being himself without municipal jurisdiction, his name upon the diotæ could have no possible object other than its customary use as a date.

Here then we come incidentally upon another trace which suggests that the parergic marks, so frequent and so varied on Greek coins, are the official devices of the annual eponymi in the cities where they were struck. The result, however, of the above comparisons, as affecting offices unexpressed in the Cnidian epigraphs, is that they may be supplied and read,—the simple thus—

ΕΠ [ΙΕΡΕΩΣ] ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ;

and the double,

ΕΠΙ [ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ] ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑ [ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΕ] ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ.[150]

One legend is anomalous, for the magistrates appear to be placed in an inverse order. It runs—

ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ;

so that it resembles the epigraphs on the coins of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, by having one of the names in the direct case. The first is the eponym, and must necessarily belong to the hierarch, as the sense cannot be "the priest Nicippus, under (*i. e.* in the period of) the Demiurgus Dionysius," for the reason just alleged, that the priest had no concern on the municipal seals otherwise than as eponymus. There is also a stamp, already cited, which shows this Dionysius in the situation of priest, preceded indeed by a different Demiurgus.

Upon cursory examination, the second word in the epigraph

Ε[ΠΙ Π]ΡΟΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΛΚ[ΑΙΟ]Υ ΚΝΙΔΙ[ΟΝ]

might be taken for a title of office, as it was at Acragas, at Catana, and at Tyndaris in Sicily.[151] But it is unlikely that those two designations, applying as they did to the same powers and duties, were

[150] Compare the Naxian inscription in Boeckh, C. I. 2416 b. By introducing the hierarchal designation, many monetary legends might be vivified into meaning. Of course there must exist some ground for supposing the presence of a priest. Thus the epigraph on a coin of Ephesus (temp. Aug.) might read

ΕΠΙ ΓΡ[ΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ] ΑΝΤΑΝΔΡΟΥ [ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΕ] ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ;

the existence of the hierarch in that city being attested by other epigraphs.

[151] Cic. II. Verr. IV. 23–39.

co-existent in one place. It is true, that under the emperors, the title of the chief offices varied occasionally in Asiatic cities; a fact which may be perceived at a glance in the greater coinages, such as those of Smyrna and Ephesus. Still there is no proof that any such alteration took place at Cnidus, or that Proagori ever existed there as magistrates; whilst, on the contrary, the evidence that Demiurgi were the chiefs of its executive is precise. There is yet the further objection, that the Proagorus in this case would be manifestly eponymus; whilst forty-three Cnidian epigraphs, and the analogy of the Rhodian constitution, by no means favour a belief that the civil magistrate of the city ever had that character inherently. We may therefore safely conclude that the word is a proper name, composed, like so many others, with ἀγορά.[152]

Why upon seventeen manubria the name of a priest of Helius appears unaccompanied, and wherefore that of a Demiurgus is with it on the remainder, is not so apparent. Certain it is that the eponymic priesthoods suffered great mutations under the emperors. They no longer continued to be strictly annual offices, as they had been under the old democratic institutions. Some priesthoods were venal. With the eponymic dignities, conspicuous as they were, it was probably otherwise. Still they must have been objects of great ambition on the one hand, whilst on the other they

[152] Aristagoras, Cratagoras, Heragoras, Nicasagoras, Timagoras, and Tisagoras, all on the Rhodian pottery. Since the above was written, I have noticed that the seal is so far injured as to make it questionable whether the name upon it is really Proagoras. The first letter is wanting, and the two next are very indistinct.

entailed heavy disbursements;[153] the hierarch contributing with more or less munificence to the splendour of the sacred pomps and periodical games over which he presided.[154] Thence it would happen that

[153] Arrian (in Epictet. I. 19) relates a conversation with a vain person anxious to become eponymic flamen of Augustus at Nicopolis. The advice given him is,—"Let the thing alone, man; you will expend a vast deal for nothing." The other, alleging various inducements, which are answered as they arise, urges,—"but the scribes will record my name!"—that is, will insert it in all public acts;—"but I shall wear a golden στέφανος!" Arrian, it may be remembered, lived in the period of M. Antoninus, and himself held a high priesthood at Nicomedia.

[154] This explains the mark of honour decreed to Irene, and the praise of generous splendour expressed by the Cnidian inscription. The reward, as it seems, was then a statue. But the recompense, long before, at Syracuse and at Catana, may have been somewhat different. When a fixed weight of bullion was issued from the treasury to the panegyriarch, for defraying the charges of the sacred games, and it was understood that great additions would be made to the public allowance from his own fortune, permission may have been given him to strike a coin, or a set of coins, inscribed at times with his name, and perhaps called after him. These were monuments more widely obvious, and more durable than statues. Individual pride and national emulation might stimulate, and opulence would enable him to engage the artists of greatest eminence in his period. To such causes may be owing the money of rarest beauty: the Syracusan decadrachms and the finest of the tetradrachms,—that, for instance, with the head of Arethusa and the name ΚΙΜΩΝ upon her frontlet. Instead, then, of being ordinary signs of value, which it is so difficult to credit, those miracles of numismatic art were also medals, commemorative of Eleutheria or other great quinquennial games, the resort of all Sicilians, and struck by the Amphipoli who presided. Thence the reverses exhibit chariots in full career, and victories and prize-armour inscribed ΑΘΛΑ. They may be dated perhaps in the century between the taking of Rhegium by Dionysius, 387 B. C., and the death of Agathocles, 289 B. C. Indeed the oldest might be very well limited to the period of prosperity and liberty which followed the reforms of Timoleon, 343 B. C. The progress of monetary engraving, as an art, was not always by slow and per-

the most wealthy and influential citizens were purposely chosen; and as such persons were few in cities of secondary consequence, the pontificate came to be conferred on the same repeatedly, or even for life.[155] Such a tenure of office often extended over several years, even if it commenced from the age of sixty,[156] and it gave birth to such repetitions as the name of Alcæus on the coins of Dyrrhachium and of Anaxander on the Cnidian manubria. It happened too occasionally, in late times, that the sacred and the civil functions were united in the same individual. That, however, will not account in a satisfactory way for the diversity of single and double names on the pottery.[157] It is easier to believe that the priest was inscribed alone in his first year, and when he officiated no longer; but that afterwards, the Demiurgus of the year was named with him as a chronological distinction.

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ceptible gradations. There is a wide step between the coinage of Alexander and that of his first successors,—of Lysimachus, for instance,—within an interval of thirty years, or little more.

In support of these suggestions, it may be added, that the Curule Ædiles, who were panegyriarchs at Rome, were sometimes allowed to strike money, and to inscribe it with their names.

[155] On a coin of Tabæ, struck under Geta, a magistrate is Prætor and also High Priest for the second time:

ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ . ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΑΡΧ . Β . ΤΑΒΗΝΩΝ.

On another of Pergamus, coined under Commodus, we have a priest for life:

ΕΠΙ ΑΥΡ . ΚΕΛ . . . . ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒ . ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ,

like Eudoxus at Cnidus, who was perhaps of nearly the same period.

[156] Ante, p. 25.

[157] In that diversity consists the peculiarity; for we see in the headings of the decrees quoted (ante p. 22, 23), and in numerous other inscriptions, that the name of the eponymus is followed by those of the other chief magistrates, who did not participate in that quality.

The Demiurgus Asclepiodorus occurs twice with different eponymi, because he served at different periods; a circumstance likely to occur in a small city where most offices were annual. That the hierarchy was so too, by its constitution, and became otherwise only exceptionally, is evident from the expression *διὰ βίου*, as applied to Eudoxus, in the inscription of Irene. It would be without object, had the priesthood been always held for life, or vested in a particular family.

Among the forty-eight magistrates recorded by the Cnidian manubria, two bear the title Demiurgus expressed, and that appears to have been the office of nineteen individuals in the whole list. The remaining twenty-nine were more probably priests of the Sun in the temple of Triopium and eponymi of Cnidus.

That Cnidus had with Egypt commercial relations of importance is sufficiently evident. The chief exports were doubtless the olive oil of Caria; but, above all, the excellent and salubrious wines for which the neighbourhood, and all the coast, were renowned.[158] Athenæus, or rather Eubulus, from whom he quotes, also praises *Κνιδία κεράμια*,—meaning, as Casaubon explains, such ordinary diotæ as those of which the handles are before us.[159] To this intercourse with Egypt may be partly attributed the opulence attested by the architectural vestiges still observable on the site of the

[158] Athen. I. p. 32. Strabo, XIV. p. 637.

[159] His note may be worth producing: "*Κεράμια* in Eubuli versu non sunt vasa figulina simpliciter, sed eorum species peculiari nomine sic dicta. Erant *dolia minora* certæ mensuræ, transferendo vino apta, aut in usum *orcarum* ad salsamenta. Cnidia hæc *ceramia*, (*amphoras* licet appelles; nam *κεράμιον* et *ἀμφορεὺς* tantumdem capiebant,) laudat Eubulus; non quamvis Cnidiam testam."—Athen. vol. vi. p. 211, ed. Arg.

ancient city.[160] Neither is it to be forgotten that the Pharos at Alexandria, erected for the safety of mariners, was the princely foundation of Sostratus, a native of Cnidus, whose wealth was derived perhaps from that commerce which his munificence served to render more easy and secure.[161]

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## CRETAN EPIGRAPHS.

*Hierapytna.* — Among the manubria of Rhodian shape was one differing from the rest in appearance and in material; for the exterior was of a greenish cast, whilst the fracture was coarse, and exhibited minute particles of a porphyry-coloured stone. It had besides burnt reddest around the circumference, and lightest at the heart, which is precisely the reverse of the Rhodian pottery. A further distinction, and one which should be observed for future guidance, consisted in the magistrate being named directly in the nominative case, of which there is scarcely a secure instance in the diotal inscriptions of Rhodes, although it is general on the coins of the city. This handle bears an epigraph, from which the three final

[160] The religion of the place will account, in great part, for that splendour.

[161] The account given by Strabo (XVII. p. 791) is precise. He did not know, or he disregarded, the stories repeated afterwards by Lucian and Pliny. But he gives the dedication itself, inscribed upon the Pharos, and he by no means mentions Sostratus as an architect. He indicates instead, that he held an elevated position in the court of the first Ptolemies; even if the common meaning be assigned to *φίλος τῶν βασιλέων*. The phrase, however, really denotes a high dignity of that period, which occurs both in history (*ex. gr.* Diod. Sic. XVIII. 43; XIX. 86) and in Greek papyri.

letters have been omitted.[162] On replacing them, it will read

ΣΩΣΟΣ ΙΑΡΑΠΥΤΝ[ΙΩΝ].

Consequently, the amphora proceeded from the Cretan city Hierapytna, of which coins and inscriptions are in existence.

It would seem that, before the time of Augustus, it was not usual to place the name of the city ethnically upon the seals of the diotæ: at least the Rhodian pottery affords no example of that practice. Afterwards, it became prevalent, as the manubria of Cnidus, and that just described, and some yet to come, sufficiently attest.[163] Among the latter, three additional specimens may be assigned to Crete. They are inscribed with abbreviated legends; a mode of writing adopted both by Greeks and Romans from early times; and applied continually upon their money to the names of places and of men. The first, in particular, are sometimes indicated by a single character, as Σ for ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ; very frequently by two or three, as ΑΘΕ or ΑΘΗ for ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ; and occasionally

[162] On the coins of the place, the name of the people is usually written ΙΕΡΑ, ΙΕΡΑΠΥ, or ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ.

[163] To these examples must be added some manubria from Greek cities on the coasts of the Euxine. One with the name of Sinope, and another with that of Heraclea Pontica, are among thirteen handles reported in the Corpus Inscrip. Græc. (2085 a. n.) as having been found about the Sarmatian Olbia. I observe that Professor Boeckh, in giving the epigraphs stamped upon tiles at Corcyra, has well conjectured that the proper names, even without the ἐπὶ, are those of eponymi; but that coming afterwards to similar names upon these handles from Olbia, he supposes, in three instances, the presence of *figuli* ("nomen figuli opinor," &c.); so that the point would seem, after all, to remain unsettled. The new monuments will probably remove that uncertainty.

by a group of letters, like AP on the money of Arcadia. The first class and the third are strictly monograms; and they are so numerous upon coins, from the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, onwards, that above 2500 are reported in the catalogues of Mionnet. They may have been found convenient, because they occupied little space: they had grammatic value, and at the same time they were simple forms which the illiterate might remember, and recognize almost as easily as the figures of natural objects. That they were in great favour with the Cretans, is clear from their presence on the coinage of nearly every important place in the island.

*Polyrhenium.*—The first handle bears the usual oblong cartouch, of which the writing is effaced; but the traces show that it was a single word, doubtless the name of the eponymus. We must therefore look for something different in ΤΟΕ, the monogram of a small circular seal united to the right end of the cartouch, and which may be read ΠΟ . Ε . Κ . The two first letters appear to indicate the name of the people (ΠΟ*λυρηνιῶν*), placed apart in the little scutcheon, instead of being inscribed on the field of the main seal, as in those of Cnidus. The additional letters may stand for *'Επαρχίας Κρήτης*, or perhaps *'Εν Κρήτῃ*, like ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ ΕΝ ΠΟΝΤΩ, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΕΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΙΩΝΙΑ, and similar legends on money. Such a discriminative form was not suitable to Cnidus, an eminent and independent city; but it might be very proper for the second-rate town of a Roman province.

*Gortyna.*—Another handle has Χ ΓΟ; that is, ΑΥ. ΓΟ., perhaps for ΑΥ*γουρείνου* ΓΟ*ρτυνίων*.

*Cydonia.*—The third bears ✱; that is, AY. K., AY*γουρείνου* K*υδωνιάταν*.[164]

Of these interpretations, the two last are suggested by Cretan coins. Several of Gortyna are inscribed AYΓOYPEINΩ[165] ΓOPT., and the same name is found upon others of Hierapytna and of Polyrhenium.[166] It therefore belonged to a Roman governor of the province; and as some of those pieces bear the head and name of Caligula, it is plain that they, together with the two manubria, must date between the years 37 and 41 of our era.

Such indications, from monuments of different classes, bring instruction. It is impossible to suppose that the name of Augurinus, as Proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, was employed to vouch the gauge of wine and oil jars. That was a municipal affair. Nearly the same remark may be extended to the money struck by the people of particular cities; especially as the name of Augurinus, which figures upon some such coins, is frequently replaced by others of native magistrates. Thence it follows, that in all these legends the Proconsul appears as eponymus of the respective places; in which capacity his name legalizes the standards, according to the custom already ascertained at Rhodes.[167] This is even perceptible on attentively considering the epigraphs themselves,—compendious expressions of a

[164] AN for ΩN, a Doric form used on the coins of the place. The K designates Cydonia without ambiguity; for Cnossus is written with a Γ on the few coins minted there under the emperors.

[165] Dor. Ω for OY. The Augurini were a family of the gens Minucia.

[166] Mionnet, II. 282. Sup. IV. 321.

[167] Ante, p. 55.

sense which can rarely have been doubtful to the ancients. That, for instance, of the Gortynian coin just cited may be readily understood [ΕΠΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ[168]] ΑΥΓΟΥΡΕΙΝΟΥ ΓΟΡΤ[ΥΝΙΩΝ].

As the emperors, in whom the proconsular dignity was inherent, filled from time to time the consulate at Rome, so they occasionally accepted the eponymic magistracy of other cities. Instances of this may not have been very frequent; but coins exhibit Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero,[169] as Duumvirs in the Roman colonies of Spain; Trajan and Caracalla as eponymi of Byzantium,[170] the former even a second and a third time; and Hadrian discharged the chief office in many cities.[171] A similar custom, of which the examples are before us, extended more or less to the provinces. The Roman authorities sent into them, with various rank, were sometimes complimented by the great towns with their annual eponymy. This may have been held in different places

[168] The chief magistrates in Cretan cities were called Κόσμοι. They were ten, and are likened to the ephors at Sparta; so that the first of them was probably eponymus.

[169] Also Juba II., King of Numidia.

[170] It deserves inquiry, whether this distinguished eponymy at Byzantium was not still the office of Hieromnemon, as in the time of Demosthenes (pro Coron. 222), and a century later (Polyb. IV. 52). The ΑΡΧ. upon its coins might stand for the interchangeable expression ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ, instead of marking the Archonship. It is again expressed distinctly on coins of the city struck as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Mionnet, Sup. II. 249, 251).

[171] "In Hetruria præturam Imperator egit. Per Latina oppida dictator, et ædilis, et duumvir fuit. Apud Neapolim demarchus; in patria sua quinquennalis: et item Adriæ quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria; et Athenis archon fuit. In omnibus penè urbibus, et aliquid ædificavit, et ludos edidit."—Spart. v. Hadr. 19.

at one time, and repeatedly in the same place; nor is it impossible that where the office was peculiarly illustrious, it may have been always filled by the governor, *jure officii*, as representative of the supreme power.[172]

As respects the commerce of Crete with Egypt, we may be sure that the chief articles imported to Alexandria were the sweet wines of the island; but far more its olive oil, of which the main supply continues to be drawn from thence. Thus, in 1845, the quantity received from Candia was 419 tuns, against about 40 tuns entered from Mitylene and elsewhere.

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EPIGRAPHS OF CYPRUS (?), CHIOS, AND SYRIA.

*Salamis?*—Considering that Cyprus was in the possession of the Lagidæ, with brief interruptions, until the dynasty expired, and that its copper, oil, wine, and wood were indispensable to supply the wants of Egypt, an active intercourse must have subsisted between the countries. It is not then unlikely that the epigraph SAL., not impressed upon a handle, but upon the lips of a vase, may have proceeded from Salamis. It belongs to a low Roman period, when the city was the metropolis of the island. It may here be noticed generally, that upon these diotal stamps, as upon money, the presence of three or four letters by themselves almost invariably marks an ethnical name, rather than that of an individual. PAR. or LOND. are abbreviations easy of comprehension; but the same number of characters from the names of the

[172] Perhaps that may have been the case at Antioch of Syria, a sacred city and asylum. The worship of Apollo was dominant there, and his priest was probably eponymus.

annual magistrates of Paris or of London would be intelligible to very few persons.

*Chios.*—One of the manubria, seemingly of a late time, offers the letters ΣΧΙ. Those initials do not apply with the requisite probability to any name of a people but one, and the reading may be ΣΧΙ[ΩΝ] for ΧΙΩΝ. The Χ being really an aspirated Κ, wherever that aspiration was feeble or was neglected, it became natural enough to prefix a Σ. The name, then, is written upon the handle as it was pronounced at the time and in the place; and that such was indeed the pronunciation, is confirmed by the modern name of the island, Scio.

*Apamea.*—The monogram ΑΠΕ, not very well written, is upon a handle of Roman times. It reads ΑΠ.Ε. The Ε, which is smaller, and attached to the shoulder of the Π, is subsidiary. These initials will not apply to any city with which Alexandria is likely to have been in connection, except Apamea. Of the towns so named, that of Bithynia was a Roman colony, and its seals were of course inscribed in Latin, as are its coins. Apamea of Phrygia was far in the interior of Asia Minor, towards the sources of the Mæander. The stamp is therefore from Apamea of Syria, one of the wealthy cities of Seleucis. That entire district overflowed with oil and wine, which were objects of export;[173] but the richest tract lay between Laodicea, the port of shipment, and Apamea: there the trade with Egypt centered. Strabo says,—"Then follows Laodicea by the sea-side, a handsomely built city with a good port; having a territory abounding

[173] According to a rhetor of the time of Theodosius I., quoted by Morell, in a note to Strabo, p. 1087, ed. Amst. 1707.

in wine, besides being otherwise productive. It supplies the greater part of the wine to the Alexandrians, the mountain above the city being covered with vines almost to its summits. The heights, however, are distant from Laodicea, receding from it gently, and little by little; but they tower abruptly, right over Apamea."[174] The monogram may represent ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ. The second word would certainly be singular in manubrial legends; but it is also extremely unusual on Greek coins; and yet those of the neighbouring Antioch, chief city of the tetrapolis, have continually ΔΗΜΑΡΧ[ΙΚΗΣ] ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ, the last word often shortened to ΕΞ.

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## CORINTHIAN EPIGRAPHS.

There is a small but very curious class of manubria, of which I gathered, at Alexandria, nine legible specimens, one of them being a duplicate. They are curved cylinders, of about six inches in length when entire, and of one inch in uniform thickness. Their clay is tolerably fine, its colour generally pale. Their legends are stamped along them to the length of three or four inches, in large inelegant letters. They appear to belong to a time of transition, and to have proceeded from a Dorian city which, at first sight, might be supposed to have had a mixed population, Greek and Latin. Some names are of the one race, some of the other: of the former are

| | |
|---|---|
| Archias, | Damas, |
| Cephalon, | Gorgias, |

among which the second is written in Greek cha-

[174] Strabo, xvi. 751.

racters, reversed from right to left; the others in Roman letters. The Latin names are

Caninius.
Visellius.

There is no appearance whatever that the persons commemorated by these epigraphs were other than magistrates, and in all probability eponymi. *Figuli* are not perhaps to be recognized on the handles of ordinary pointed amphoræ at any period or in any locality;[175] a remark which applies even to Italy; for the diotæ with stamped handles which have been found there are few, and there is reason to suppose that most of them came from Greek cities.[176] The taste for foreign wines had been introduced at Rome during the last half century of the republic, and it had spread rapidly and widely; so that we might expect to encounter some of the vessels in which it was imported, particularly as they were

[175] A contrary opinion, as already stated, has been entertained even by the best authorities; but it is so obviously disproved by the new monuments, that the topic need not be urged further.

[176] Agincourt ('Recueil de Fragments,' Pl. XIX.) produces the engraving of a *diota* which has the legend MATVRI upon one handle. It was discovered at Rome, in an ancient cellar, along with many others of ruder form. Its own elegance shows it to be Greek. Maturius, besides, is the Romanized version of a known name, Μάτυρος, (Mionnet, Sup. VI. 116.) It was borne by the Duumvir of some Roman colony; and the epigraph stands for *sub* MATVRIO: Hardly any of the amphoræ, so numerous in Italian collections and at Pompeii, are inscribed. Usually, too, the ware is coarse, and the forms are ungraceful. They are also smaller than the Greek vessels; the difference corresponding perhaps with that of the Greek and Roman amphoræ, as measures of capacity. It was as two to one; the former containing about nine, the other about six imperial gallons.

in request with the Romans for keeping their own wines.[177]

The epigraph No. 338 offers, in the name Caninius, the clue which conducts to the true origin of the series of manubria to which it belongs. A family bearing that name was undoubtedly established at Corinth when a Roman colony, and some of its members became Duumvirs of the place, consequently eponymi; for the Duumvirs in the colonies were what the Consuls were at Rome.

Corinth was restored and re-peopled by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 44;[178] that is, at the very close of his life. Within five-and-twenty years after, Strabo visited the city, and examined every object worthy of attention.[179] He must then have held intercourse with many of the first settlers; so that his information,

177 "Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græcâ quod ego ipse testâ
Conditum levi." Hor. I. Carm. xx. 1.

Perhaps no one of the glosses on these lines is entirely satisfactory. That of Mitscherlich seems to be the best; but the opinion that there is here an allusion to the noble painted pottery of Etruria and Campania is not happy; for it had disappeared from use long before Horace wrote, and it never at any time was employed for storing wine, any more than painted porcelain is now. Neither was it the shape of the jar which recommended it to Horace; but rather the circumstance of its having contained a generous liquor. Pliny (H. N. XIV. 27) shows the opinion which prevailed of the extreme susceptibility of wine to imbibe good or bad flavours; not by admixture merely or contact, but even by proximity. The poet himself says elsewhere—

"Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu." I Ep. II. 69.

And the *cadus*, which had contained Chian wine, might be supposed to impart some portion of its violet perfume to the homely Sabine vintage.

178 Dion Cass. XLIII. 50.

179 VIII. 379.

always of weight, is here entirely conclusive as to the political condition of the colony. He states that, after the town had long remained desert, it was renewed by Cæsar on account of the convenience of the situation; and that the persons he sent thither to dwell were, for the most part, the issue of freedmen.[180] Dion Cassius did not write until two centuries and a half later; but he had older authorities in his hands, and there may chance to be something more than a rhetorical flourish in his assertion that the design of Cæsar was to honour the indigenous families, and to revive the memory of the old population. From the two accounts it may be inferred that the settlers were the descendants of the Achæan prisoners of war, who, about a century before, had been sold as slaves after the victories of Q. Metellus[181] and of L. Mummius.[182] As usual in such establishments, their numbers might be swelled by the Greeks found on the spot, and by others collected from the surrounding country. Together they would form a colony, having the ordinary status of *peregrini dediticii*, which must have been that of most people in the province. It cannot, at all events, be assumed that such a community started with any extraordinary privilege; or was viewed otherwise than as that which it really was, a *colonia libertinorum*.

Small brass coins of this Roman colony are abun-

[180] Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐρήμη μείνασα ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, ἐποίκους πέμψαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστους.—VIII. 381.

[181] Pausan. VII. 15.

[182] "Cæterum Mummius Corinthios omnes, et ex servis quos Diæus armaverat, quotquot superstites prœlio erant, sub corona vendidit."—Liv. LII. 17.

dant: they bear a great variety of types; frequently with the names of two Duumvirs, down to the time of Caligula inclusively; after which there is seldom more than one magistrate, and he too ceases to appear from the reign of Otho. Imperial heads and titles occur from J. Cæsar to Gordian. The epigraphs on this money are invariably Latin, and in Roman characters, as they were in all the colonies. The names of Duumvirs are also Roman in most instances, although there are a few cognomina, such as Hipparchus and Polyænus, which are Greek names, altered merely in the termination. It should, however, be observed that as historical documents, these, and all colonial coins of the kind, are apt to mislead. It is highly improbable that the Corinthian settlement, in its first period, had in any degree the liberty of minting, which in those days was one of great magnitude. Patræ, founded by Augustus, inhabited by many of the troops who had won for him the battle of Actium, and, above all, the only free town in Achaia,[183] had not that privilege until some time—possibly a long time—after its establishment. A coin, which it then made the monument of its gratitude, manifests the consequence attached to the boon by the legend with a votive turn—INDVLGENTIAE . AVG . MONETA . IMPETRATA.[184] Whoever will take the pains to analyze the colonial coins of Corinth, may satisfy himself that the pieces which bear the heads and names of J. Cæsar, of Augustus, of Livia, and of their contemporaries, must date after their times; for they are often accompanied by the heads and names of later emperors. They were struck in commemoration,—a practice which prevailed

[183] Pausan. VII. 18. [184] Eckhel, D. N. V. II. 257; IV. 497.

more or less at all periods, including the era of the republic. There were indeed religious as well as official motives for figuring J. Cæsar, Augustus, and Livia. They had been deified, and they were founders of the dynasty. In the time of Caligula, and in the two reigns which followed, this commemoration was extended to nearly every member of the imperial house, living or dead; and it even comprised Antony the Triumvir, from whom Caligula, Claudius, and Nero were descended by the female line. When adopted by the prince upon money struck at Rome, it was natural that it should be imitated and exaggerated by the zeal or adulation of the authorities in a Greek city. Thus the colleagues A. Vatronius Labeo and L. Rutilius Plancus have on some coins the head of Caligula, on some that of Tiberius, on others of Augustus;[185] and it is not credible that they had filled together the same annual office in the three reigns. P. Vipsanius Agrippa might very well be assigned to the period of Augustus, whose head and name are upon some of his pieces, were it not that the head and name of Caligula are upon the rest.[186] The heads and titles of Drusus, Tiberius, Agrippa the younger, and Augustus,[187] were used by the colleagues C. Heius Pollio and C. Mussidius Priscus. Those of Otho, Nero, and Claudius[188] were adopted in his year by T. Claudius Optatus.

The early Duumvirs of the colony, who had as yet no right to strike money, had, however, the ordinary municipal right of legalizing the capacity of the amphoræ in which wine, oil, honey, and other articles

[185] Mionnet, II. 174. Idem. Sup. IV. 57.
[186] Id. II. 172; Sup. IV. 63.
[187] Id. Sup. IV. 62; II. 174, 173, 172.
[188] Id. II. 177, 176, 175.

were exported from Cenchreæ and Lechæum, by stamping the handles with their names. These we find at first Greek, and generally such as were likely to occur at Corinth. At first, too, these Greek names are in Greek characters, with the affectations of archaism which were so much loved, and they are in the genitive case, with the ἐπὶ understood (ΞΟΝωΛΑΦΕΚ). Then came Greek names written in Latin characters, but still declined Ἑλληνικῶς in the genitive, with a Doric termination (ARCHEIA : GORGIA); or they wrote them still with Latin letters, and in the direct case (DAMAS).

An epigraph of the same period, and extremely curious, because clothed in Roman archaisms, is No. 337,—RVMAS. The assumption of U for O, which is said to have been habitual to the Etruscans and the Umbrians, has prevailed in Italy, more or less widely, at all periods,[189] and still subsists in some living dialects, as for instance in the Sicilian. Throughout the East, it has constantly adhered to the individual name Roma,—*Rum* or *Roum*,—and its derivatives. In fact, too, Roma was always understood to be a foreign word, the Latin name of the city being religiously concealed, that it might not be imprecated by enemies, and the tutelary gods evoked.[190] The Tiber, in remote times, was termed *Rumon;* and, according to an opinion which Servius appears to prefer, the *Ficus Ruminalis*

[189] "O, aliquot Italiæ civitates non habebant, sed loco ejus ponebant U, et maxime Umbri et Thusci." (Priscian. lib. I. ap. Grammat. Lat. auct. p. 553, ed. Han. 1605.) "Apud nos quoque antiqui ostendunt, quia æque confusas *o* et *u* literas habuere; nam *Consol* scribebant per *o*, cum legeretur per *u Consul*. Unde in multis etiam nominibus variæ sunt scripturæ, ut *fontes funtes, frondes frundes*." (Velius Longus *de Orthog*. ibid. p. 2216.)—Quintil. I. 4.

[190] Macrob. III. 9.

received from thence its appellation.[191] That the old Tyrrhenian burgh[192] upon the Palatine should have been called *Ruma* from the same source, is a still more cogent probability, although it is not noticed by the scholiast; so that the true order of these etymologies may possibly be, that the burgh took its name from the river, and the traditionary fig-tree from the burgh. The name Rumas upon the seal, in ordinary orthography Romas, had certainly been given originally to a *servus publicus* on his manumission. When Artena, a stronghold of the Volsci, was captured through the assistance of a slave, he was rewarded with freedom and property, and named Servius Romanus.[193] Varro, too, observes, that the *liberti* of corporations and of temples were frequently called from the locality, as Reatinus from Reate; Romanus from Roma; and he seems to intimate that this, which was the older habit, fell into disuse when it became common for such persons to take their names from the magistrates who freed them.[194] Incidentally he informs us in a clause of the same passage, that Lænas, Sufenas, Carinas, Mecænas, and Urbinas are names derived from places; and as every one of them bears the termination in AS, it would appear to have been often affixed primitively to the whole class, whatever the modes by which they were acquired. What serves very much to explain and corroborate this indication of Varro, is the antiquated disposition of the Latin to form its genitive of the first declension in *as*, instead

[191] Serv. ad Virg. Æn. VIII. 63 and 90.

[192] Dionys. I. 29.

[193] In the year B. C. 401.—Liv. IV. 61.

[194] De Lingua Lat. VII. p. 124, Bipont. Unfortunately the passage is very confused and also corrupt.

of in *æ*,[195] of which the traces remain in some compound words, as *pater-familias*. Thus Roma made in the possessive Romas,—'*of Rome*,'—which was at once commuted into the nominative of a noun masculine, equivalent to Romanus.

The condition of the *servi publici* must have been higher than that of ordinary servitude: attached to the chief officers of government as secretaries, collectors, surveyors, overseers, or ordinary attendants, they became intrusted with a great range of important duties, which implied trust rather than authority. It is therefore likely, that the manumission of the meritorious always brought with it something more than the common distinctions attending the act as executed by private persons. The latter, on freeing a favourite slave, generally permitted him to assume their *prænomen* and *nomen gentilicium*,[196] whilst he retained his previous name as a cognomen. Precisely the same thing occurred where strangers obtained citizenship by the influence of public men. These, however, were matters of observance rather than real changes of designation; because practically a person was known by his cognomen, or by his prænomen and cognomen together; and compara-

[195] "Primæ declinationis genitivum, etiam in *as*, more Græcorum, solebant antiquissimi terminare: *ut* Terras pro Terræ,—Latonas pro Latonæ."—Priscian. lib. VI. p. 679.

[196] Or if two friends had interested themselves in the matter, the *libertus* received his prænomen from one, and his nomen from the other. Thus Cicero writes to Atticus: "De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere prænomine, novo nomine T. erit Cæcilius; ut est ex me et ex te junctus Dionysius, M. Pomponius."—IV. 15. So that Eutychides had his prænomen from his master Atticus, his nomen (Cæcilius) from his master's friend Metellus; whilst Dionysius had received his prænomen from Cicero, and his nomen from Atticus.

tively few made ordinary use of the gentile name; so that a *libertus* was still Tiro or Laurea, Eutychides or Dionysius. Such at least was the case in the time of Cicero; and even those Romans who were then almost absolute in the republic, seldom departed from the usage in bestowing manumission. Of this there is a proof in Corinth itself. One of the Duumvirs named upon its coins is M. Antonius Hipparchus; and there can be no question that he sprang from the Hipparchus mentioned by Plutarch as the freedman who, although he had greater influence than any with Antony, was the first to desert his fortunes; after which treachery he fixed his residence at Corinth.[197] The historian adds, that he was the son of Theophilus, the steward of the Triumvir in the same city; who also, in all probability, was called Marcus Antonius.

So long as Augustus lived, he opposed all innovations calculated to disturb the distinctions between native Romans and foreigners;[198] and none but strong

[197] Plut. Anton. 68. Eckhel (D. N. V. II. 243) considers that the Duumvir is the same person; but he may rather have been his son, or even grandson. The heads of Caius and Lucius are upon his coins; and supposing them to be synchronous with those princes, which is questionable, they still could not well date earlier than B. C. 2 to A. D. 4; that is, some thirty years after the events noticed by Plutarch. The coins, of whatever date they may be, teach us the prænomen and nomen of the historical Hipparchus, and they are exactly those which might have been anticipated.

[198] "Magni existimans sincerum, atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis, incorruptum servare populum; et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit, et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio, pro cliente Græco petenti, rescripsit: 'Non aliter se daturum, quam si præsens sibi persuasisset quam justas petendi causas haberet.' Et Liviæ, pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti, civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit."—Sueton. Aug. 40.

motives relaxed his tenacity in individual exceptions. One of them is perhaps announced by the name Caninius on the seal No. 338. It belonged properly to a Roman gens, of which several members held high offices in the state, towards the close of the republic and under the first emperors. The families it is known to have comprised are, the Galli, Ribeli, Reguli, and Labeones; but the cognomen of that established at Corinth was none of these. Coins are reported which have the name of P. Caninius Agrippa IIvir, along with the head of Tiberius.[199] Others are inscribed L. Caninius Agrippa IIvir, and have sometimes the head and name of Nero,[200] but far oftener those of Galba.[201] To conceive that the persons thus designated were of Roman stock, would be plausible enough, but certainly erroneous; for a coincidence, in many ways remarkable, assures us that they were *peregrini*, whilst it fixes distinctly the date of their changing that status for Roman citizenship. The Fasti Consulares show that A. U. C. 717 (B. C. 37), the Consuls were M. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus; so that the first of the Corinthian Caninii received his prænomen[202] and nomen from one consul, perhaps from him who had the fasces, and consequently precedence in that month; and his cognomen he took from the other consul.

It is difficult to account for a mode of naming then so unusual, otherwise than by supposing that it arose

[199] Mionnet, Sup. IV. 61, 62; marked, however, as resting on the authority of Sestini. With coins so small, and rarely well preserved, it is easy to mistake a head where the emperor's name is not added. They are not in the cabinet of the British Museum.

[200] Mionnet, II. 176. [201] Idem II. 177; Sup. IV. 74, 75.

[202] Lucius was a favourite prænomen of the Caninii at Rome. Besides the Consul of B. C. 37, another held the same office in B. C. 2.

out of political interests of the moment. Achaia was, at that period, in the possession of Antony, to whose share had fallen all the provinces east of Scodra on the Adriatic. The spring of the year A. U. C. 717 is exactly the date of his arrival at Tarentum from Greece with three hundred vessels, and of a temporary reconciliation with Octavianus. Explanatory messages prepared the way for that adjustment of their pretensions. There was an interchange of military and naval assistance; and the term of the triumvirate, already expired, was renewed for five years.[203] At the same time, their daughters were betrothed; Antonia to Ahenobarbus, Julia to Antyllus the son of Antony.[204] Throughout the civil wars, Greek freedmen were intrusted by all the leaders with their communications to each other, and often with the most important negotiations. Examples occur numerously in the narratives of Appian and Dion Cassius. Still these persons, with all their necessary consequence, either were not Roman citizens, or they were so with a limited franchise. They cannot have had the *suffragium et honores*, which conferred participation in the sovereign power by the right of election and the capacity to hold magistracy. Thus Menodorus, the admiral of Sextus Pompeius, when he betrayed Sardinia and Corsica to Octavianus, was first made *ingenuus* from being *libertinus*,[205] and was then left in charge of the squadron he had brought over, subject, however, to the chief command of Calvisius.

From all this it may be inferred, that the first of the Caninii settled at Corinth was a freedman, or

[203] Appian. Bell. Civ. v. 93, 95. [204] Dion Cass. XLVIII. 54.
[205] Ἐλεύθερος ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου.—App. Bell. Civ. v. 80.

possibly a Greek *ingenuus* in the confidence of Antony; and that he obtained Roman citizenship in a complimentary form, either at the desire of his patron, or as the reward of services rendered to both sides in the negotiations. What the specific distinction amounted to in his case is, perhaps, distinguishable in the concession made to him of a Roman cognomen, which, by custom or institution, appears then to have accompanied the *jus annuli aurei*. The *jus annuli* itself implied admission to the equestrian order;[206] for, as late as the ninth year of Tiberius (A. D. 23), a law was passed restricting the golden ring to *ingenui* having the minimum census of 400 sestertia,[207] which was precisely that of an *eques*.—Whether this Caninius became subsequently Duumvir in his city, so that our manubrial seal might be his, is uncertain; for it may belong to any date between B. C. 37 and A. D. 69. Still the absence of a prænomen, never wanting on the coins, leads to the belief that it is of an early period; and the form of its letters is that of the old epigraphs already described. The same remark applies, in all respects, to the seal No. 339, which is of much the same period, and inscribed with the name Visellius. That too may have been an equestrian family at Corinth; and the name had, of course, been adopted from some influential person of the gens Visellia. At what time this occurred is doubtful; for we have

[206] One of the three persons, to whose influence Galba was accused of subjecting himself, was the "libertus Icelus, paulo ante annulis aureis et Martiani cognomine ornatus, ac jam summi equestris gradus candidatus."—Sueton. Galb. 14.

[207] Plin. H. N. XXXIII. 8. This census was about £3125, supposing the sestertium to have been then equal to £7. 16*s*. 3*d*.

no means of tracing it either to C. Visellius Varro, Consul A. D. 2, in the reign of Augustus; or to L. Visellius Varro, Consul A. D. 24, under Tiberius.

Thus far, the seals reviewed are assignable to Duumvirs who seem to have lived in the early period of the Corinthian colony. At length, something evidently happened, which placed the community higher in the social scale of the empire. The circumstance is marked by the disappearance of Greek names from the official epigraphs, and the substitution of Roman names, with the cognomina duly expressed. There are two events, either of which, or both of them together, may have produced this change. At the division of the provinces, under Augustus, Achaia had fallen to the senate and people; but on the accession of Tiberius (A. D. 15), its complaints of intolerable burdens caused it to be transferred to what was deemed the milder administration of the Cæsar;[208] and it is very possible that he then accorded the *Latinitas* to the city as an inaugural favour. The other event was the enactment of the *Lex Junia Norbana*, which must have passed A. D. 19; for it was evidently designated, like some others, from the gentile names of the two Consuls, who, in that year, were M. Junius Silanus and L. Norbanus Balbus. The law, among its other arrangements, conferred on the *genus libertinorum*, and of course on any colony which chanced to have that origin, the full privileges of *Latini Colonarii*;[209] one of

[208] Tacit. Ann. I. 76. The measure was applied, at the same time and for the same reasons, to Macedonia. Both provinces were added to the jurisdiction of Poppæus Sabinus, Proprætor of Mœsia.—Loc. cit. 80.

[209] Or Coloniarii. They then became the Latini Juniani of the Digest: "Libertorum genera sunt tria, Cives Romani, Latini Juniani,

them being, that whoever was elected to the magistracy, obtained thereby the condition of a Roman civis.[210] By whichever of the two means Corinth acquired *Latinitas*, the assumption of Roman names became thenceforward necessary to the authorities whom it habilitated. Two centuries later, the same change was placed at the option of the multitude, when Caracalla granted the *civitas* to every subject people.

As the one period of the Corinthian colony embraces the fifty-eight years from B. C. 44 to A. D. 15, so the other may be taken to include the fifty-five years from A. D. 15 to A. D. 69. To the second interval may be attributed all the duumviral coins; the faculty of minting having been conceded, perhaps late, in the reign of Tiberius, and merely as an honorary privilege limited to the smallest modules of brass money. The only one of the manubrial epigraphs, which a more modern mode of writing, and the presence of a prænomen, point out as belonging to the same period, contains a Greek proper name Romanized. It reads, M . EXSONI, that is, M. Exonio;[211] for the terminal letter, very commonly omitted in the names of colonial coins, is, however, often expressed; and it then shows

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Dedititiorum numero."—Ulpian. Fragm. tit. I. § 5. But although individuals might acquire the *civitas*, with a franchise more or less complete, it is unlikely that it was ever yielded to any corporation of *libertini*. They would be constitutionally *Latini*, if privileged; *dediticii*, if not. In common parlance both were *peregrini*.

210 Asconius, in Orat. Cic. contra Pison. p. 156, ed. Lugd. 1644; and compare Madvig, de Jure et Condic. Colon. Opusc. pp. 276, 277, 283, 284.

211 "The ransomed," from ἐξωνέομαι? L. Arrius Peregrinus, the name of a Duumvir on Corinthian coins (Mionnet, II. 173), also indicates the civil condition of the colonist, when it was first adopted.

that all are intended to stand in the ablative case, being in fact governed by the preposition *sub* understood, just as the Greek epigraphs are governed in the genitive by ἐπί. It is certainly curious that even in this, the latest of the Corinthian seals, the whim of archaism continues to be manifested. Here it consists in the duplication XS, like SAXSVM in the tomb of the Scipios. The form seems to have been affected by the gens Æmilia, ALEXSANDREA appearing on a commemorative coin of the Lepidi, and PAXS on the money of L. Buca, in the time of Cæsar; but it was by no means confined to them, and a century later PAXS occurs still upon a coin of Galba.[212]

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## EPIGRAPHS OF THE PROPONTIS.

That the ancient commerce of Alexandria should have connected itself with the towns on the Propontis and its dependent straits, is very intelligible. Wine, which was plentiful and good on the Asiatic shore, was, no doubt, sought there; but the riches and consequence of all those places depended mainly on their fisheries.[213] They were to the Greeks what Newfoundland is to us. Nowhere else was fish more abundant, nowhere so excellent.[214] The smaller kinds entire, and the larger kinds carved into lumps, with salt strewed between the layers, they were packed in amphoræ,[215] or in larger vessels (πίθοι), and so ex-

[212] Eckhel, D. N. V. v. 75; vi. 123.

[213] Enumerating the staple exports of different places, Hermippus has

> Ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη·
>
> ap. Athen. i. p. 27.

[214] Athen. iii. p. 116.

[215] These vessels were certainly used to contain the large and

ported. In Egypt and in Greece, as in the temperate climates generally, very little animal food is consumed, even by the wealthy. Athenæus devotes to it but a minute portion of his deipnological compilation; but two books, and many detached passages, relate to fish. It is the engrossing theme of a writer whom he quotes continually, Archestratus, who, after travelling every where in search of dainties, recorded his experience in a gastronomical poem.[216] But fish at Alexandria is none of the best, and it is expensive, because the supply is scanty. That again obtained from the Lake Menzaleh, and sold salted to the common people, bears no better repute now than it did anciently.[217] Hence the demand for this article, from abroad, must always have been considerable in Egypt. Some of the finer qualities from the Propontis may even have ranked as high among objects of luxury as '*thon-mariné*' does now; for the τάριχος (the Italian '*salume*'), along with shellfish, olives, white beet-root, radishes, &c., frequently formed an introductory course to well-served dinners,[218] as they do still at Naples and elsewhere.

*Lysimachia.*—The seal No. 341 is on a short curved handle, wide and substantial: it must have belonged to a πίθος, or other bulky jar, rather than to an amphora. The legend [ΛΥ / CI] is for ΛΥCIMAXIΩN, and belonged to the city on the Thracian side of the Hellespont: the coins of the place often bear those four letters.

*Cyzicus?*—The epigraph No. 342 reads ЄY . KY .,

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delicate fish, as well as smaller sorts; for Archestratus commends new tunny, lightly salted in a new amphora.—Loc. cit. p. 117.

[216] Loc. cit. p. 116.

[217] Loc. cit. p. 118.

[218] Loc. cit. p. 120.

and possibly represents ЄYTYXЄCTATOC KYZIKHNΩN, the legend on a brass coin of the time of Hadrian.[219] The diotal stamp is slovenly enough to be of that low period.

*Parium.*—The interesting seal No. 343 is inscribed P·VEVEI·PARI,[220] that is, P. Vellei Pari, the R differing slightly from a Greek P. Replacing the terminal letters, omitted here, in the way already explained, and completing the expression of the epigraph, it will read sub P. Velleio IIviro Coloniæ Parianæ.[221] Parium was a commodious port, situated in a vine-growing country, which stretched beyond Priapus to the east and Lampsacus to the west.[222] It was also famous for its fishery of the colias, an esteemed variety of the tunny.[223] These circumstances, united, account for its intercourse with Egypt.

The name of the Duumvir P. Velleius merits observation, for it appears to influence the unsettled question whether the prænomen of the historian Velleius Paterculus was Caius or Publius.[224] The solitary and muti-

[219] Mionnet, Sup. v. 318. The name of the magistrate on this coin is probably ill rendered in its termination.

[220] The British Museum possesses a very similar seal, not stamped upon a handle, but under the lip of a diota, which, standing as it does in the Elgin collection (No. 344), was, no doubt, received from Greece. It reads CLAEVINIO; that is, *sub* CLAV. EVINIO, being a known Greek name, Εὐήνιος, Romanized. This Claudius Evinius was most likely Duumvir in some colony; possibly, indeed, at Corinth.

[221] The older Greek coins of the city are inscribed ΠΑΡΙ.

[222] Strabo, XIII. 587, 588.

[223] Καὶ Πάριον κολιῶν κυδρὴ τροφὸς ἔσκε πολίχνη.—Incert. ap. Athen. III. 116. Plin. H. N. XXXII. 53.

[224] It may be examined in the preface of Ruhnken, and the dissertation of Lemaire; both prefixed to the edition of Velleius by the latter. Par. 1822.

lated manuscript of his work has long since perished; and the first edition, printed whilst it still existed, offers in different parts both cognomina. From his own narrative we collect that Velleius, in the early period of his military career, had visited Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia; that he held command during five years under Tiberius, accompanied him in his Pannonian triumph, and was then decorated with the highest military rewards. He further intimates, that having been Quæstor, and having attained senatorian rank, his appointment, some years later, as Prætor, was the last recommended to the *comitia* by Augustus, and the first in which Tiberius exercised his influence; so that it took place in A. D. 15.[225] Respecting his after-fortunes,—the post to which he was sent,—the duration and the events of his government, — he has maintained a total and remarkable silence. There can, however, be little doubt that he became subsequently Legatus Augusti in one or other of the imperatorial provinces. Under the year which agrees with A. D. 21, Tacitus relates that several of the Thracian hordes, impatient of Roman influence, rose against the king Rhœmetalces, and besieged him in Philippopolis; but that P. Velleius, who commanded the nearest army, marched to the spot, and easily suppressed the revolt.[226]

[225] Hist. II. 104, 111, 115, 121, 124. The Prætors were then twelve.

[226] "Cœletæ, Odrusæque, et Dii, validæ nationes, arma cepêre. Plurimi regem urbemque Philippopolim circumsidunt: quæ ubi cognita P. Velleio, (is proximum exercitum præsidebat,) alarios equites mittit in eos. Ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. Simulque cuncta prosperè acta; regis eruptione et adventu legionis: neque aciem aut prœlium dici decuerit, in quo semermes ac palantes trucidati sunt, sine nostro sanguine."—Ann. III. 38, 39. It

The situation of Thrace was this: it was not as yet a province of the empire, not having been reduced to that form before the reign of Claudius at soonest; but it was divided into two petty kingdoms, ruled by native princes under Roman protection. That arrangement affected solely the interior, inhabited by the indigenous Thracians; for the great towns of the sea-board, being peopled by Greeks, cannot possibly have been subjected to barbarian chiefs.[227] There is rather reason to think that they were governed by their own laws, in which case they formed a third division of the country. The Romans did not occupy Thrace, nor did they exercise there a direct authority. We are very accurately informed of what was then the distribution of their standing armies;[228] and we thereby know that the nearest to Thrace was that of Mœsia, where two legions were stationed under a Legatus Proprætor. As might be expected, the affairs of Thrace were subject to the vigilance and to the occasional interference of that officer. It was through him that the dispatches, the counsels or the injunctions of the emperor, were conveyed to the kings. When disorders arose, he

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has been objected, that Velleius, the historian, says nothing of this event; but that may rather indicate that he was the general concerned, considering that he says nothing of any event of his government. The exploit, besides, was inglorious; and he had borne arms from his youth.

[227] "In eâ divisione, arva et urbes vicina Græcis, Cotyi; quod incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit."—Tacit. Ann. II. 64. The capital of the latter was evidently Philippopolis. It has been judged too hastily, that the head of Cotys V. on a coin of Byzantium proves that city to have been in his power. The circumstance is explainable otherwise.

[228] By Tacitus, Ann. IV. 5.

repaired to their territories, to examine and to remedy. When formidable insurrections were to be quelled, it was his army that took the field. Of all this there are repeated instances.[229] It is therefore certain that the P. Velleius of Tacitus was Proprætor of Mœsia in A.D. 19.[230]

The manubrial epigraph which has occasioned these observations may be reasonably ascribed to the era of Tiberius. The name it contains cannot in those days have been assumed optionally. One then of two things is evident: either Parium enjoyed the Lex Latii,—and a Duumvir, on obtaining by virtue of his office the Roman citizenship, was permitted to adopt the prænomen and the gentile name of the provincial governor in office,—or otherwise we have here the seal of the Proprætor P. Velleius himself, as honorary Duumvir of the Roman colony. The latter may be perhaps the better hypothesis. Instances of the sort have already been exhibited.[231] It has been seen that even the emperors sometimes assumed the eponymic magistracy; of which Byzantium, the chief

[229] One in A.D. 19 (Tacit. Ann. II. 66, 67); another in A.D. 21 (Ann. III. 39); a third in A.D. 26 (Ann. IV. 47).

[230] Tacitus has marked pretty clearly the succession of governors in Mœsia at that period. Poppæus Sabinus seems to have been appointed, A.D. 11, by Augustus (Ann. VI. 39). He was confirmed, and Macedonia and Achaia were also placed under him on the accession of Tiberius, A.D. 15 (Ann. I. 80). But he must have been moved soon after to another province; for, A.D. 19, Latinius Pandus died, Proprætor of Mœsia, and was succeeded by Pomponius Flaccus, an old man craftily advanced for a momentary purpose (Ann. II. 66). In A.D. 21, we find P. Velleius in command (Ann. III. 39). In A.D. 26, Poppæus Sabinus had been re-appointed to Mœsia; for, with the troops of that province, he crushed a Thracian revolt, and obtained a triumph at Rome (Ann. IV. 47).

[231] Ante, p. 74.

city in this region, affords conspicuous examples. If these views of the subject are warranted, the manubrium from Parium offers evidence that P. Velleius was at one time governor of the Propontis, annexed to Bithynia in the provincial arrangement of Augustus.[232] Viewed then in either way, the epigraph bears out the integrity of the manuscripts as respects the prænomen of the legate who interposed in the Thracian outbreak. It is improbable that two persons of the same name presided at the same time and in the same quarter of the empire over armies and provinces of the Cæsar;[233] and if Lipsius, Ernesti, and Ruhnken are correct in the opinion, to which they more or less incline, that the Velleius of Tacitus was no other than the historian Velleius Paterculus, we may expunge the prænomen Caius, awarded to him on equivocal grounds, and replace Publius, as it stands on the title-page of the editio princeps of 1520, and in that of Giunti, 1525. Assisted too by the terra-cotta just described, we should acquire a new fact of great probability in the biography of our Velleius; for it would become credible that his first government,—comprising, most likely, the two years of his prætorship and proprætorship,—was that of Bithynia and the Propontis, then the tenth of the prætorian provinces dependent on the senate and people.[234] Subsequent employment elsewhere, as legatus of the emperor, was of course an advancement in his career, because the legati of the Cæsar possessed the

[232] Strabo, XVII. 840.

[233] His brother, whose career was nearly like his own, had been adopted into another family, and was called Magius Celer Velleianus. —Vell. Hist. II. 115.

[234] Strabo, XVII. 840.

*imperium*, which the nominees of the senate had not, and there was no fixed time for their continuance in office.

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EPIGRAPHS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

There are six manubria of miscellaneous forms, which cannot be ranged with any certainty either in the Rhodian or in the other classes. They bear the names

| | |
|---|---|
| Demosthenes. | Icestus. |
| Eucanor. | Melanthius. |
| Hieroteles. | Demarchus. |

These seals have no months added. Their characters are very good. The fifth name is exceptional among them, so far as being in the direct case, and written in two lines with lunated letters, usually indicative of the Roman period.

Equally of a late period, but with very marked affectations of archaism, are five other handles, seemingly of another origin. They present the simple names, and no more, of

| | |
|---|---|
| Andras. | Castor. |
| Adæus. | Psapho. |

Xophilus.

Three read from right to left, with large letters, imitating indifferently the ancient forms. Two of the names are in the nominative.

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As a general remark, the diotal manubria which have hitherto come to my hands offer this singularity,—that whilst the Lagidæ continued to rule, Rhodes, so far as these monuments yield evidence, seems to have possessed the same commercial pre-

ference in Egypt which the Phœnicians had before the conquests of Alexander. We do not find a single epigraph of another city which can be assigned with probability to the Ptolemaic period. No sooner, however, was that dynasty extinct, than the pottery of Corinth made its appearance; then that of Cnidus and the other classes which have passed under our review. The Rhodian intercourse itself presents throughout the most interesting analogies with that which, from the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, was maintained by the Venetian republic with Egypt and Syria, under their independent Sultans.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

An opportunity has just now offered for consulting the dissertation of Mr. Thiersch, to which allusion has been made in p. 4. It is contained in the second volume, for 1838, of the '*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie*,' and it is entitled '*Ueber Henkel irdener Geschirre, mit Inschriften und Fabrikzeichen.*' The memoir of Mr. Thiersch is highly important for the monuments represented in its four lithographed plates, as well as for the place of discovery. Those monuments are forty-eight manubria, which a German gentleman, Mr. Stademann,—whilst engaged in drawing a panorama of the vicinity of Athens,—found, within a small compass, near the western foot of the remarkable hill Anchesmus, or Lycabettus. On one of these manubria, Mr. Thiersch identifies the

*rose* as it is represented upon the coins of Rhodes; on another, the name of the people of Thasos: the remaining handles he assigns to Cnidians, the name of that people being inscribed upon *seventeen* of the number.

The dissertation, very ingeniously reasoned, shows how much uncertainty has prevailed on the subject of diotal stamps; owing, no doubt, in a great measure, to the limited range of the examples. Its views embrace eight separate results, dependent on the main hypothesis, that the manubria are specimens of old Athenian earthenware;—their legends and devices having reference to masters of potteries, of whom one was a Thasian, one a Rhodian, the rest natives of Cnidus;—and that these master-potters were settled, as *μέτοικοι*, in the outer Cerameicus, between the opening of the Peloponnesian war and the period of Alexander, (431 to 336 B. C.) Such opinions have now their test in the handles from Alexandria; which bear, not merely the names of Cnidian and Rhodian *magistrates*, but also their titles of office. The value, however, of the seals represented in the plates of the Munich dissertation, leads me to submit, in few words and not controversially, my own conceptions of those monuments.

The first eighteen are Cnidian. Nos. 10 and 17 are counterparts of Nos. 315 and 300 from Alexandria. The series procured at Athens contains, in all, seventeen Cnidian names. Of these, Apollonidas, Ariston, Euphragoras, Maron, Philombrotidas, Archagoras, Dædalus (?), Jason (?), and Chrysippus, have not occurred to me. Among devices, the star belongs to Agathinus, rather than to Athenæus, as I had conjectured. Maron has the diota, Chrysippus the lion's

head. The bee, or fly, much defaced, is found upon a small fragment; and as that emblem is distinct, on another Cnidian fragment from Alexandria, it must be added to the devices of Cnidian magistrates. Six manubria, having circular stamps occupied by bulls' heads, offer imperfect legends. Among them, Nos. 25 and 26 are probably Cnidian; but the rest, and especially No. 24, may be from other places. Olbia, Panticapæum, &c., have the bull's head upon their money. No. 19, which contains the title of a magistrate, *Ἀστυνόμος*, (it is not a proper name,) is seemingly from some port on the Euxine, or not very remote from that sea; for it closely resembles the class of handles found at Olbia. Upon it is a small figure of the cantharus, or two-handled cup; and, if that represents a national symbol, it may indicate Callipolis on the Thracian Chersonesus, a city of which the coins exhibit the same device, (Mionnet, Sup. II. 523.) The interesting seal No. 20 is inscribed in handsome letters ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, under which is a large cornucopia, and below that the name of a magistrate, perhaps in the direct case ΦΕΙΔΩ[Ν], the space being very restricted. The stamps Nos. 21, 34, and 35, are undoubtedly Rhodian; and the two which can be read bear names found at Alexandria. Possibly No. 38, and the two countermarks with single letters, Nos. 47 and 48, may likewise be Rhodian. Among the whole forty-eight seals there are at least twenty-three of which the epigraphs are too far obliterated to be at all legible in the drawings.

From the handles discovered by Mr. Stademann, facts are deducible which advance us some steps further in our knowledge of ancient commerce. It appears that the wine of Thasos, which ranked along

with the Lesbian and Coan, as inferior only to the Chian, was exported to Athens by the chief city of that island itself, or at least in diotæ which bore the names of its people and of their eponymi. It is clear that the Rhodians, at one period, supplied Athens with the celebrated wines of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands, although the paucity of Rhodian manubria suggests the question whether that Asiatic trade, purely one of luxury, had any regular footing at Athens much sooner than at Rome. From the marked difference of palæography, it is also clear that the same supply passed, at a subsequent epoch, into the hands of the Cnidians; an event not assignable, perhaps, to a time greatly anterior to that of the Antonines. There is besides, in the epigraph No. 19, a very safe indication that Athens received pickled fish from the Euxine, or from the straits of the Propontis.

Among the more general consequences of this inquiry, it may finally be noted,—that Rhodian manubria have already been detected throughout Sicily, at Athens, at Alexandria, and at Xanthus;—Cnidian manubria, at Athens and at Alexandria. Again, to the list of cities of which the diotal seals have been described in the preceding Memoir, we must add Thasos (Thiersch, Pl. II. No. 20); as well as Heraclea Pontica and Sinope, on the authority of the following epigraphs from handles found at Olbia, and reported in the Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, No. 2085, *a*, *b*:

| | |
|---|---|
| ΧΑΒΡΙΑ | ΘΕΟΓΕΙΤΟΥ |
| ΑΣΤΥΝΟ[ΜΟΥ] | ΑΣΤΥΝΟ[ΜΟΥ] |
| ΗΡΑΚΛΕ[ΩΤΑΝ]* | ΣΙΝΩΠΙΩ[Ν] |

* As the majority of legends, on the money of Heraclea Pontica, are in the Doric dialect, so Χαβρία, on the manubrium, is the gen.

—And, so far as we have yet ascertained, the cities of which the people are named at length, or quite unmistakably, upon their vase-stamps, are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cnidus, | Lysimachia, |
| Thasos, | Parium, |
| Hierapytna, | Heraclea Pontica, and |

Sinope.

---

Dor. of Χαβρίας. The third word stands ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ in the C. I. G. If Ι is in the original, the word should perhaps be filled up Ἡρακλειώταν, or -ων, because there is frequently a confusion of the single vowel and of the diphthong, in these diotal legends; but they do not appear to furnish any examples of a city being named otherwise than ethnically.

## CATALOGUE OF DIOTAL EPIGRAPHS.

The engravers of these epigraphs have occasionally omitted a termination, where the seal was not of sufficient latitude to contain the entire name. Such examples have been left in their primitive state; and letters [between brackets] are supplied in the following lists, only where an abrasion is manifest.

### RHODIAN EPIGRAPHS.

The circular seals are indicated by the mention of their devices—the 'Head of Helius,' or the 'Rose.'

Six names of Rhodian magistrates which have not as yet occurred at Alexandria, and also thirty-two varieties of the months, in conjunction with particular names, are added to this catalogue from the Sicilian writers Castello, Avolio, and Judica. These epigraphs are distinguished by initials,—the numbers having reference exclusively to the manubria found at Alexandria.

### RHODES.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Ænetor. | ΕΠΙ ΑΙΝΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 2. Æschines. | ΕΠΙ ΑΙϹΧΙΝΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 3. Agastophanes. | ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΣ[ΤΟ]ΦΑΝΕΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 4. Agathocles. | ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ |
| 5. Id. | Α[Ρ]Τ[Α]ΜΙΤΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[1] |
| Id. | ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ (C.) |
| 6. Agoranax. | ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 7. Id. | ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 8. Alexander. | ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 9. Id. | ΔΙΑΞΙΛΑ[2] (Rose.) |
| 10. Id. | ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ |
| 11. Id. | ΥΟ[ΙϤΟΦΟΜ]Ɔ→Θ ΥΟϤΔΙΑ[Ξ→]ΛΑ ΙΠ→ (Rose.) |
| 12. Alexiadas. | ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΑ ΠΑΝΑ[ΜΟ[Υ |

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[1] Αρταμιτιου Αγαθοκλευς.

[2] Ε and Ι used indifferently—Αλιξανδρου.

13. Aleximachus. ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (Rose.)
14. Id. The same epigraph, upon a rectangular seal.
Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.)
Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ (C.)
15. Amyntas. ΑΜΥΝΤΑ
16. Anaxander. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ [ΘΕΣΜΟ]ΦΟΡΙΟΥ
17. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ
18. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ
19. Id. [ΥΟ]ΙΘΙΙΜϽ ΥΟϥΔΙΑΞΑΙΑ [ϽΩϢ]ϥϢ[Ι' ΠϢ] (Rose.)
20. Anaxibulus. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ
21. Id. ΕΠ[Ι] [ΑΝ]ΑΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣ[ΙΟΥ]
22. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ Α[ΡΤΑΜΙΤΙ]ΟΥ (or Α[ΓΡΙΑΝΙ]ΟΥ)
23. Anaximachus. ΕΠ' Ι[ΕΡΕΩ]Σ ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΡΤ[ΑΜΙΤ]ΙΟΥ
24. Andrias. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ
25. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙ (ΥΟΙΤ)
26. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ
27. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑ [ΠΑ]ΝΑΜΟΥ (Rose.)
28. Id. ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΝΔ[ΡΙΑ] [Δ]Α[ΛΙ]ΟΥ (Rose.)
29. Andricus. ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΥ
30. Andromachus. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ
Andron. ΞΟΙΩϥΔΙΑ (J.)
31. Andronicus. ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ
32. Id. ΕΠ' ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΣ[ΜΟ]ΦΟΡΙΟΥ[3] (Head of Helius.)
33. Id. ΕΠ' ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚ[ΟΥ] ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ (Rose.)
34. Id. ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΒΑΔΡΟΜ[ΙΟ]Υ
35. Id. ΕΠ[Ι] [Α]ΝΔ[ΡΟ]ΝΙΚΟΥ ΥΑ[ΚΙ]ΝΘΙΟΥ
36. Id. ΕΠΙ Α[Ν]ΔΡΟ[Ν]Ι[ΚΟΥ] ΚΑΡ[ΝΕΙ]ΟΥ
37. Antimachus. ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ

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[3] In the *same* month the name is written with the simple vowel Ι and with the diphthong ΕΙ; and circular seals, with different emblems, are employed.

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| 38. Antipater. | [Ε]ΠΙ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ [Α]ΓΡΙ[ΑΝΙΟΥ] |
| 39. Apæles. | ΑΠΑΙΛΟΥ |
| 40. Apollodorus. | ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ |
| 41. Aphrodisius. | ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥ |
| 42. Archembrotus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΕΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 43. Id. | ΑΡΧΕΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΥΑ[ΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ] |
| 44. Id. | ΕΠΙ Α[ΡΧ]ΕΜΒΡΟ[ΤΟΥ ΠΑ]ΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 45. Archidamus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ [Α]Γ[ΡΙ]ΑΝΙΟΥ |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΙΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (C.) |
| 46. Archilaidas. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΛΑΙΔΑ [ΔΑ]ΛΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΛΑΙΔΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ (A.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΛΑΙΔΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 47. Archinus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΝΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 48. Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΙΝΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 49. Archocrates. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 50. Aremachus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΕΜΑΧΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 51. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΕΜΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΡΝΕΟΙΥ[4] |
| 52. Aresarchus. | ΑΡΗΣΑΡΧΟΥ |
| 53. Aristacus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΚΟΥ ΒΑ[Δ]ΡΟΜΙΟΥ |
| 54. Aristagoras. | ΕΠΙ Α[ΡΙΣ]ΤΑΓΟΡΑ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ |
| 55. Aristanax. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ |
| 56. Id. | ΕΠΙ Α[Ρ]ΙΣΤΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ [ΑΓΡ]ΙΑ[ΝΙ]ΟΥ |
| 57. Aristarchus. | ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ |
| 58. Aristides. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ |
| 59. Id. | [Ε]ΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 60. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤ[ΙΟ]Υ |
| 61. Id. | ΕΠΙ [Α]ΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ [Υ]ΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 62. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (Rose.)[5] |
| 63. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙ[ΣΤ]ΕΙΔΑ ΒΑ[ΔΡΟ]ΜΙ[ΟΥ] |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (A.) |
| 64. Aristocles. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ (Rose.) |
| 65. Aristocrates. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤ[ΕΥΣ] |

[4] It seems that the letter Ι has been misplaced in an attempt to remedy its omission from the name of the month.

[5] The ordinary rectangular seal, and the circular seal with the rose, in the same month.

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| 66. | Aristodemus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 67. | Id. | ΕΠΙ Α[ΡΙ]Σ[ΤΟ]ΔΑΜΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 68. | Aristogenes. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 69. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟ[Υ] |
| 70. | Id. | [ΕΠΙ] ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝ[Ε]ΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 71. | Aristogitus. | [ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟ]ΓΕΙ[ΤΟ]Υ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 72. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΙΤΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 73. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΙΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 74. | Aristomachus. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[Χ]Ο[Υ] (Head of Helius.) |
| 75. | Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 76. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[ΧΟΥ] [ΥΑ]ΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 77. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ (A.) |
| 78. | Ariston. | ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ |
| 79. | Id. | [ΕΠ]Ι ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ ΥΑΚΙΝ[Θ]Ι[ΟΥ] (Rose.) |
| 80. | Id. | [ΕΠΙ] ΑΡΙΣ[Τ]ΟΝΟΣ [Α]ΓΡΙ[ΑΝΙΟΥ][6] |
| 81. | Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 82. | Aristopolius. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΟΥ[7] |
| 83. | Aristratus. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ ΖΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ[8] (Rose.) |
| 84. | Id. | Ε[ΠΙ] ΑΡΙΣ[ΤΡΑΤ]ΟΥ Κ[Α]ΡΝΕΙΟΥ |
| 85. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣ[ΤΡ]ΑΤΟΥ ΔΑΛ[ΙΟΥ] |
| 86. | Arnibius. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΝΙΒΙΟΥ [Υ]ΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 87. | Id. | [Ε]ΠΙ Α[ΡΝ]ΙΒΙΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 88. | Artimas. | ΑΡΤΙΜΑ |
| 89. | Arylaidas. | ΕΠΙ ΑΡΥΛΑΙΔΑ [ΔΑ]ΛΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 90. | Asclepiades. | ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΑΔΑ |
| 91. | Astymedes. | [ΕΠΙ] ΑΣΤΥΜΗΔΕΥΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 92. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΣΤΥΜΗΔΕΥΣ ΒΑΔ[ΡΟΜΙΟΥ] |
| 93. | Athanodotus. | ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ |
| 94. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 95. | Id. | ΕΠ' ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ (Rose.) |

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[6] The Ω is absent from this seal, the O which occupies its place being plain.

[7] "The noble greybeard:" a new name; the reading clear.

[8] Quite plain: the final Υ of the name being omitted, and the month written in the nominative case: Ζ also usurping the place of Σ.

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| 96. | Atimes. | [A]TIMOYΣ |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΤ[Ι]ΜΟΥ[Σ] ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ[9] (Rose.) (C.) |
| 97. | Autocrates. | A[Y]TOKPATEYΣ (Rose.) |
| 98. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 99. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ |
| 100. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘ[ΙΟΥ] (Rose.) |
| 101. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕ ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΥ[10] |
| 102. | Bromius. | ΒΡΟΜΙΟΥ |
| 103. | Callianax. | [Ε]ΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ |
| 104. | Callicrates. | ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕ[Υ]Σ |
| 105. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 106. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΥΑ[ΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ] |
| 107. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΑ[ΝΙΟΥ] |
| 108. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (Head of Helius.) |
| 109. | Callis. | ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΣ[11] |
| 110. | Callon. | ΚΑΛΛΩΝΟΣ |
| 111. | Clearchus. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ |
| 112. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΑΝΑ ΔΕΥΤΕ[12] |
| 113. | Clenostratus. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ[13] |
| 114. | Id. | [Ε]ΠΙ ΚΛΗΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΑ[ΛΙΟΥ] |
| 115. | Id. | Ε[ΠΙ] ΚΛΗΝ[ΟΣΤ]ΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΑΚ[Ι]ΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 116. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΗΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ Α[ΡΤ]ΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 117. | Cleocrates. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ |
| | | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (C.) |
| | | [ΕΠΙ Κ]ΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕ[ΥΣ] ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C). |
| 118. | Cleonymus. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΑΓ[ΡΙ]ΑΝΙΟΥ |

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[9] The reading of the name, in Castello, is ΑΤΕΜΟΥ, probably inaccurate; and the epigraph 96 is very plain.

[10] Quite distinct; the letters ΙΟ are omitted for want of room before the final Υ in the name of the month; so that it is not Πεδαγειτνιῶνος.

[11] ΚΑΛΛΙΣ, name of magistrate on Rhodian coins.

[12] Πανάμου δευτέρου.

[13] The name is written with the diphthong ΕΙ and with the long vowel Η, on seals of even the same month.

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| Cleonymus. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (C.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 119. Clisimbrotidas. | ꝟΟΙΝΑΙ٩ΛΑ ΑΔΙΤΟ٩ΒΜΙꝟΙΞΛ[14] (Rose.) |
| 120. Id. | ΚΛΕΙΣΙΜΒΡΟ |
| 121. Cotes. | ΚΟΤΕΥΣ |
| Cratagoras. | ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑ[ΤΑΓ]ΟΡΑ ΘΕΥΔΑ[Ι]ΣΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 122. Cratidas. | ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 123. Creon. | ΚΡΕΟΝΤΟC ΔΙΟCΘΥΟΥ |
| 124. Damænetus. | ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 125. Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ[15] |
| 126. Damocles. | ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 127. Damocrates. | ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥꝟ |
| 128. Id. | ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ (Rose.) |
| 129. Id. | ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤ[ΕΥΣ] (Head of Helius.) |
| 130. Damophilus. | ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 131. Demetrius. | ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΥ |
| 132. Diocles. | ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ[16] |
| 133. Diodotus. | ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ |
| 134. Dionysius. | ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC |
| 135. Diophantus. | [Δ]ΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ |
| 136. Discus. | ΔΙΣΚΟΥ |
| 137. Dius. | ΔΙΟΥ |
| 138. Dorcylidas. | ΕΠΙ ΔΟΡΚΥΛΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΕΥΤ[17] |
| Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΟΡΚΥΛΑΙΔΑ |
| 139. Dorus. | ΔΩΡΟΥ |
| 140. Dracontidas. | ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΑ |
| 141. Epipacus. | { Πꝟ ΙΠꝟ<br>ΙΠΑΚΟ[Υ] |

[14] Plain; the name of the month in the nominative case.

[15] The heading of a Rhodian inscription in Boeckh, C. I. [2525 b], has ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ.

[16] There are three specimens: but since ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ appears as eponymus on Rhodian coins, we may perhaps view ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ as one of the grammatical affectations of which there are others in the epigraphs. It may be for ΔΙΟΚΛΕΗΣ, the uncontracted form of the name, with the penultimate letter changed Dorically.

[17] Δευτέρου.

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| 142. Estiæus? (Hestiæus?) | ΕΠΙ ΕΣΤ[ΙΑΙΟΥ] ΔΑΛ[ΙΟΥ] |
| 143. Etæus. | ΕΤΑΙΟΥ |
| 144. Euclitus. | ΕΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ |
| 145. Eucratidas. | ΕΠΙ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 146. Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕ[Ω]Σ [Ε]ΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ (Rose.) |
| 147. Id. | [ΕΠ' ΙΕ]ΡΕΩΣ [ΕΥΚΡΑ]ΤΙΔΑ |
| 148. Euphranor. | ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ (Head of Helius.) |
| 149. Evanor. | ΕΠΙ ΕΥΑΝΟΡΟΣ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 150. Id. | ΕΠΙ Ε[Υ]ΑΝΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 151. Gorgias. | ΓΟΡΓΙΑ |
| 152. Gorgon. | ΕΠΙ ΓΟΡΓΩΝΟC ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 153. Harpacus. | ΑΡ[Π]ΑΚΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ [18] |
| 154. Harpocrates. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΡΠΟΚΡ[Α]ΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙC (Rose.) |
| 155. Hecatamus. | ΕΚΑΤ[Α]ΜΟΥ |
| 156. Hephæstion. | ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝΟ Σ |
| 157. Heracleon. | [Η]ΡΑΚΛΕΙ[Ω]ΝΟΣ |
| Heraclitus. | ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ (A.) |
| 158. Heragoras. | ΕΠΙ ΗΡΑΓΟΡΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 159. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΗΡΑΓ[Ο]ΡΑ ΑΓ[ΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ] |
| 160. Hesilochus. | ΕΠΙ ΗCΙΛΟΧΟ |
| 161. Hierocles. | ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΥΣ |
| 162. Hieron. | ΙΕΡωΝOC |
| 163. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 164. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡωΝOΣ ΑΓΡΙ[ΑΝΙΟ]Υ |
| 165. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΔΙΟ[ΣΘ]ΥΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 166. Hippocrates. | ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ (Rose.) |
| 167. Jason. | ΙΑ[ΣΟ]ΝΟΣ (Head of Helius.) |
| 168. Id. | ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ |
| 169. Imas. | ΙΜΑ |
| 170. Isidorus. | ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ |
| 171. Id. | ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ [19] |

[18] A name of Median origin; differing from the Ἅρπαγος of Herod. I. 8 only in the common change of κ for γ. The same name occurs in t inscription upon the great Xanthian stele, illustrated by Colonel Leake.

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| 172. | Laphides. | [ΕΠΙ Λ]ΑΦΕΙΔΕ[Υ]Σ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ |
| 173. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΛΑΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΙ [20] |
| 174. | Id. | [ΕΠ'] ΙΕΡΕΩΣ [Λ]ΑΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ Δ[ΑΛ]ΙΟΥ |
| 175. | Leontidas. | ΕΠΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΔΑ |
| 176. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΔΑ ΔΑ[Λ]ΙΟΥ |
| | Linctor. | ΕΠΙ ΛΙΝΚΤΟΡΟΣ (C.) |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΛΙΝΚΤΟΡΟΣ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 177. | Lysidnis. | ΛΥΣΙΔΝΙ[Ο]Σ |
| 178. | Lysippus. | [ΕΠΙ] ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ [Α]ΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 179. | Marsyas. | ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟ |
| 180. | Id. | ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤ [21] |
| 181. | Id. | ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (Thiersch, Pl. III. No. 34.) |
| 182. | Menecles. | ΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΥΣ |
| 183. | Menecrates. | ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ[ΤΕ]ΥΣ |
| 184. | Menestheus. | ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΩΣ |
| 185. | Menestratus. | [Μ]ΕΝΕΣ[Τ]ΡΑΤΟΥ (Winged Head of Medusa.) |
| 186. | Id. | ΜΕΝΕΣ[ΤΡ]ΑΤΟΥ (Dolphin and anchor.) |
| 187. | Menidamus? | ΕΠΙ [ΜΕ]ΝΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ Μ[ΕΝΙΔΑ]ΜΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 188. | Menothemis. | ΜΕΝΟΘΕΜΙΟΣ |
| 189. | Metrodorus. | ΜΑΤΡΟΔΟΡΟΥ |
| 190. | Midas. | ΜΙΔΑ |
| 191. | Musæus. | ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ |
| 192. | Nanis. | ΝΑΝΙΟΣ |
| 193. | Nicagis. | ΝΙΚΑΓΙΔΟΣ |
| 194. | Nicasagoras. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ |
| 195. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 196. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 197. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΔΙΟΣΘΥΟΥ |
| 198. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΒΑΔΡ[ΟΜΙΟΥ] |
| 199. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 200. | Id. | [ΕΠΙ] ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ (H. of H.) |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ (C.) |

[20] Plain, Ι for Υ.

[21] Πεδαγειτνίου.

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| 201. Nicias. | ΝΙΚΙΑ |
| 202. Nicomachus. | [Ε]ΠΙ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ [ΠΑ]ΝΑ[ΜΟΥ] |
| 203. Nicostratus. | ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑ[22] |
| 204. Nysius. | ΝΥΣΙΟΥ |
| 205. Olympus. | ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ |
| 206. Pædippus. | ΕΠΙ ΠΑΙΔΙΠΠΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 207. Panchares. | ΠΑΓΧΑΡΕΥΣ |
| 208. Pausanias. | ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ |
| 209. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 210. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ |
| 211. Id. | ΕΠΙ [Π]ΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 212. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 213. Pedapatrus. | ΔΞΠ<br>ΑΠΑ<br>ΥΟϤΤ |
| 214. Peckiratus. | Ε[Π]' ΙΕΡΕ[Ω]Σ ΠΕΚΚΙΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 215. Phanias. | ΦΑΝΙΑ |
| 216. Philænius. | ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΥ |
| Id. | ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (C.) |
| 217. Philocrates. | ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ |
| 218. Philodemus. | ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ Π[ΑΝ]ΑΜΟΥ |
| 219. Philostephanus. | ΦΙΛΟΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ |
| 220. Phonidas. | ΕΠΙ ΦΩΝΙΔΑ |
| 221. Pisistratus. | [ΕΠΙ Π]ΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 222. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΕΙΣ[Ι]ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΤ[ΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ] |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (A.) |
| Polyænus. | ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ (A.) |
| 223. Polyaratus. | [ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛ]ΥΑΡΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 224. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΑΡΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ |
| 225. Polycrates. | ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΕΥC |
| 226. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤ[ΕΥΣ] ΚΑ[ΡΝΕΙΟΥ] |
| 227. Protus. | ΠΡΩΤΟΥ |
| 228. Pythodorus. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 229. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘ[Ο]ΔΩΡΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| 230. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (C.) |

[22] Νικοστράτου.

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| Pythodorus. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ (A.) |
| 231. Pythogenes. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ |
| 232. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 233. Id. | ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 234. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| Rhanactus. | ΕΠΙ ΡΑΝΑΚΤΟ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (C.) |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΡΑΝΑΚΤΟ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 235. Rhodon. | ΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ[23] |
| 236. Id. | ΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ[24] |
| 237. Id. | ΞΟΝΩΔΟϤ |
| 238. Sicanus. | ϹΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ ϹΙΚΑΝΟΥ[25] |
| 239. Socrates. | ΞΥΞΤΑϤΚΩΞ |
| 240. Id. | ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ |
| 241. Sosicles. | ΣΩΣΙΚΛΥΣ[26] |
| 242. Id. | ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ |
| 243. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΤΑΜ[ΙΤΙΟΥ] |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 244. Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡ[Ε]ΩΣ ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΡ[ΝΕΙ]ΟΥ |
| 245. Sosida. | ΣΩΣΙΔΑ |
| Sostratus. | ΕΠΙ ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ (C.)[27] |
| 246. Symmachus. | ΕΠΙ ϹΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 247. Id. | ΥΟΧΑΜΜΥΞ ΙΠΞ |
| 248. Id. | Ε[ΠΙ] ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| Id. | ΕΠΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ (C.) |
| 249. Themison. | ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝΟΣ |
| 250. Theodor. | ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟϢ |

[23] So too Ῥοδοκλῆς, gen. *έος*, occurs among the proper names of a Rhodian inscription. (Ross, Inscr. Gr. ined. III. 268.)

[24] The difference is in the unusual shape of the handle.

[25] The national epithet by which he had been best known was seemingly retained as a name by some Sicilian of a Sicanian town, (perhaps Drepanum or Eryx,) who had settled at Rhodes.

[26] Distinct.

[27] There is in the Alexandrian series a fine circular seal, perhaps of this magistrate. It has the head of Helius; and a lacuna in the legend, which may have stood ΕΠ' [ΙΕΡΕΩΣ Σ]ΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ.

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| 251. | Theodor. | ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 252. | Thersander. | ΕΠΙ ΘΕΡΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 253. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΘΕΡΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 254. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΘΕΡΣΑΝΔΡ[Ο]Υ ΘΕΣ[Μ]ΟΦΟΡ[ΙΟΥ] |
| 255. | Thestor. | ΕΠΙ ΘΕΣΤΟΡ[Ο]Σ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 256. | Thesmocletus. | ΘΕΣΜΟΚ[ΛΗ]ΤΟΥ |
| 257. | Timacrates. | ΣΥƎΤ[Α]ϟϰΑΜΙΤ |
| 258. | Timagoras. | ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ[28] |
| 259. | Id. | Ε[ΠΙ Τ]ΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ |
| 260. | Id. | [ΕΠ'] ΙΕΡΕΩΣ [Τ]ΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ |
| 261. | Id. | ΕΦ' ΙΕΡΕΩ[Σ] Τ[Ι]Μ[ΑΓ]ΟΡΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (Head of Helius.)[29] |
| 262. | Id. | ΥοΙΛΑΔ ΑϟοΊΑΜΙΤ ΣΩƎϟƎΙ 'Π[Ǝ] |
| 263. | Timarchus. | ΤΙΜΑ[ΡΧ]ΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ |
| 264. | Id. | ΤΙΜΑΡ[30] |
| 265. | Timodicus. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΣΜ[Ο]ΦΟΡΙΟΥ |
| 266. | Timorrhodus. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΥΡΡΟΔΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ[31] |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΥΡΡΟΔΟΥ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ (C.) |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΥΡΡΟΔΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (A.) |
| | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΥΡΡΟΔΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (A.) |
| | Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΙΜΟΥΡ[ΡΟΔΟΥ] ΑΓ[ΡΙ]ΑΝ[ΙΟΥ] (A.)[32] |
| | Id. | ΕΠ' Ι[ΕΡΕΩΣ Τ]ΙΜΟΡΡΟΔΟΥ (C.)[33] |
| 267. | Timotheus. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜ[Ο]ΘΕΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 268. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 269. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΘΗΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |
| 270. | Timoxenus. | ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 271. | Tisagoras. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΣΑ[Γ]ΟΡΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 272. | Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ |

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[28] ΕΙ and Ι indifferently.

[29] The only example of ΕΦ'.

[30] This handle, if Rhodian, is of peculiar shape.

[31] Τιμάορος, contr. Τιμῶρος Ῥόδου; he who honours, or defends, or avenges Rhodes?

[32] Avolio's readings of the name are inaccurate; but the corrections are obvious. He has given the title of *office* as a proper name.

[33] A *lacuna*, in this imperfect epigraph, admits the addition here made.

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| 273. Tisagoras. | ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΣΑ[Γ]ΟΡΑ ΑΓΡΙΑ[ΝΙΟ]Υ[34] |
| 274. Id. | ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΕΙΣΑΓΟΡΑ |
| 275. Tisamenus. | ΥΟΙΤΙΜΑΤϤΑ ΥΟΝΞΜΑΣΙΞΤ ΙΠΞ (Head of Helius.) |
| 276. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΡΤΑ[ΜΙΤΙΟ]Υ |
| 277. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΓ[ΡΙΑΝ]ΙΟΥ |
| 278. Xeno. | ΞΕΝΩΝΟΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ (Rose.) |
| 279. Xenophantus. | ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ |
| 280. Id. | Ε[ΠΙ] ΞΕΝΟ[ΦΑ]ΝΤΟΥ Α[ΡΤ]ΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 281. Xenophon. | ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ |
| 282. Id. | ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ |
| 283. Zeno. | ΖΗΝΩΝ[ΟΣ] (Rose.) |
| 284. Id. | ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΞΗΝΩΝΟΣ |

[34] ΕΙ and Ι indifferently.

## CNIDIAN EPIGRAPHS.

In this list the ethnical name is always placed last for the sake of symmetry; but on the originals it sometimes precedes a single name, or is interposed where there are two.

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| 285. | ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ | ΕΥΓΕΝΟΥ . . . | ΕΙΡΗΝΙΔΑ | |
| 286. | ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΙΟΡΓΟΥ[35] | ΚΑ[ΛΛ]ΕΟΔΟΤ[Ο]Υ . | [Δ]Ι[Ο]ΝΥΣΙΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 287. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΝ[ΥΣΙ]ΟΥ . | ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟΣ[36] . . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟ[Ν] |
| 288. | . . . . . | Ε[ΠΙ Π]ΡΟΑΓΟΡΑ[37] . | ΑΛΚ[ΑΙ]ΟΥ . . | ΚΝΙΔΙ |
| 289. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΙΔΑ . . . | ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ . . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 290. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΙΔΑ . . . | Α[ΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ][38] | |
| 291. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΥC . . | ΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ . | ΚΝΙ |
| 292. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ . . | ΗΝΙΟΧΟΥ . . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 293. | | Ν[ΟΙ]ΔΙΝΚ | ΥΟΧΡΑΠΠΙ . . . | ƎΥΝΓ ΙΠƎ |
| 294. | . . . . . | ΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΥ . . | [ΑΡΙΣ]ΤΑΓΑΛΟΥ . | |
| 295. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΕΥ . . . . | ΙΠΠΟΛΟΧΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 296. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ Ε[Υ]ΡΟΚΛΕΟΥ . | ΜΙΚΕΑ . . . | ΚΝΙΔΙ[ΟΝ] |

[35] The single vowel **Ο**, and the diphthong **ΟΥ**, used indifferently in the title of office.

[36] Singular, from the second name being in the nominative.

[37] The name Proagoras is not very sure; for the **ΡΟ** is not clear, and many names end in *αγορα*. The first name may possibly be Zoagoras, and the true reading of the epigraph **[Ζ]ΩΑΓΟΡΑ**.

[38] Perhaps the second name was rather written **ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ**, for a star occupies the centre of the seal; and other stars, of the same form, are found on Cnidian stamps, in which Agathinus is the second of two names. (Thiersch, Pl. I. Nos. 2 and 3.) The *star*, therefore, may have been wrongly attributed to *Athenæus* in my list of devices assumed by Cnidian eponymi.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 297. | ΕΠΙ ΔΙοΓΕΝΕΥC . . | ΔΗΜΟΚΛοΥ . . | ΚΝΙ |
| 298. | ϽΥΞΝΞΓΟΤϽΙΡΑ | ΥΟΛ[ΥΟ]ΒΜΑΛΙΦ | |
| 299. | ΕΠΙ Μ . . . . | ΞΑΝΘΟ[Υ][39] . . | Κ[ΝΙ]Δ[ΙΟΝ] |
| 300. | ΕΠΙ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ | ΘΕΥΦΙΔΕΥΣ . . | ΚΝΙΔ[ΙΟΝ] |
| 301. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΚΝΙΔΙ[40] |
| 302. | ΕΠΙ ΑΣΚΛΗ[ΠΙΟ]ΔΩΡΟΥ | ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔ[Ρ]ΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 303. | ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ . | ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΙ |
| 304. | ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑ . | ΑΝΑΞ[ΑΝ]ΔΡΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 305. A | ΕΠ[Ι] ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ | ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ . | ΚΝΙΔΟΝ[41] |
| 305. B | Duplicate, exhibiting some letters more clearly. | | |
| 306. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ Κ[ΛΕΥΜΒ]ΡΟΤΟΥ | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 307. | ΕΠΙ ΘΕΥΔΩΡ[Ι]ΔΑ . | ΥCΟΚΛΕΥC . . | ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 308. | . . . . . | ΘΕΥΔΩΡΙ | |
| 309. | ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΑΚΛΕ[ΥΣ] . | [ΝΙ]ΚΑCΙ[ΒΟΥΛΟΥ | Κ]ΝΙ? |
| 310. | ΕΠΙ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ . | ΝΙΚΑΣΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ | |
| 311. | . . . . . | ΙΔΙΝΚ ϽΗ[Τ]ΑΡΚΥΞ | |
| 312. | ΕΠΙ ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑ[Τ]ΕΥC | ΑΠΟΛΩΝΙΟΥ[42] . | ΚΝΙΔΙ |
| 313. | . . . . . | ΑΠΟΛ[ΩΝΙΟΥ] . | Κ[ΝΙ] |

[39] It is interesting to find this old traditional name preserved at Cnidus down to so late a period. Xanthus was a son of the Pelasgian Triopas, founder of the city. (Diod. v. 81. Ibid. 61.—Paus. x. 11.)

[40] Single name. [41] ΚΝΙΔΟΝ is perfectly distinct, with no room to suspect the loss of the Ι by abrasion.

[42] Apollonius, written with a single Λ. The first Ρ, in the name Therocrates, is purposely reversed. Instances are also found on coins. Upon one of Gortyna, it is, as here, a third letter, and a Ρ.—Mionnet, ii. 282.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 314. | . . . . . A . ΕΥΣ . | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ |
| 315. | . . . . . | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ . ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 316. | . . . . ΕΠΙ ΕΥ . . . | ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔ[Α] . . ΚΝΙ[ΔΙΟΝ] |
| 317. | . . . . . | ΑΜΥΝ[ΤΑ] . . ΚΝΙΔΙ[ΟΝ] |
| 318. | . . . . . | ΘΕ[Ρ]ΣΑΝ[Δ]Ρ[ΟΥ] ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 319. | . . . . . | ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ . . ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 320. | . . . . . | ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΟΥ . [Κ]ΝΙΔΙΟΝ |
| 321. | . . . . . | ΥΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ |
| 322. | . . . . . | ΞΗΝΑ |
| 323. | . . . . . | [43]ΥΙΙΛΙΦ ΙΠΞ ΙΙΝ |
| 324. | . . . . . | ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ |
| 325. | | ΕΠΙ ΠΥΓ . ΚΝΙ.[44] |

[43] Distinct, the penultimate O being omitted.

[44] ΕΠΙ ΠΥΓ. ΚΝ.; probably for Ἐπὶ Πυγμαλίωνος Κνιδίων. The name Pygmalion seems to have been not uncommon in Cyprus. It was borne by one of its petty kings, put to death 313 B.C. by Ptolemy Lagus (Diod. XIX. 79);—also by a statuary of the island (Ovid, Met. X. 9).

CRETE.

326. Hierapytna. ΣΩΣΟΣ ΙΑΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ *Ἱαραπυτνίων.*

327. Polyrhenium. (obliterated.) ΠΟ.Ε.Κ.

328. Gortyna. ΑΥ.ΓΟ.

329. Cydonia. ΑΥ.Κ.

CYPRUS?

330. Salamis? SAL

CHIOS.

331. Chios. ΣΧΙ

SYRIA.

332. Apamea. ΑΠ.Ε.

CORINTH.

333. Cephalon. [ϽΟΝΩΛΑΦΞΚ]
334. Archias. ARCHEIA
335. Gorgias. GORGI[A]
336. Damas. DAMAS

337. Rumas. RVMAS
338. Caninius. CANINI
339. Visellius. VISELLI
340. M. Exonius. M·EXSONI

THE PROPONTIS.

341. Lysimachia. ΛY / CI

342. Cyzicus? ЄYKY ЄY.KY.

343. Parium. P·VEVEI·PAPI P.VELLEI.PARI.

EPIGRAPHS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

(POSSIBLY RHODIAN.)

344. Demosthenes. ЕΠΙ ΔΑΜΟΣΘΕ
345. Eucanor. Ε]ΥΚΑΝΟΡΟΣ
346. Hieroteles. ΙΕΡΟΤΕΛΕΥΣ
347. Icestus. ΙΚΕΣΤΟΥ
348. Melanthius. ЭОІΘИАΛЗМ
349. Demarchus. ΔΑΜΑΡΧΟΥ

350. Andras. ΑΡΔИΑ
351. Adæus. ΑΔΑΙΟΥ
352. Castor. [Ζ]ΟΡΟΤΖΑΚ
353. Psapho. ИωΦΑΨ [45]
354. Xophilus. ΞΟΦΙΛΟΣ

[45] The Ψ is of archaic form, such as may be seen on the coins of Selinus in Sicily, and of Scepsis in the Troad; but hardly on any others.

NOTE BY COLONEL LEAKE.

The series of 354 manubria catalogued in the preceding Paper having been placed by Mr. Stoddart at my disposal, I have presented them to the British Museum. With reference to the Cnidian manubria found at Athens (*vide* p. 107), I may add that in a letter which I have received from Mr. Finlay, dated Athens, 19th June, 1848, he mentions, that in consequence of a communication from me, he had been searching for manubria, and had found two with the Rhodian flower upon them, and one with the epigraph ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ.—W. M. L.

## II.—ON THE PORTION OF THE TURIN BOOK OF KINGS WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE SIXTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

BY DR. E. HINCKS.

(Read March 12th, 1846.)

As the attention of the Royal Society of Literature has been frequently directed to the Turin Book of Kings,—and as the arrangement of its fragments in their proper order, so as to admit of its being compared with the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, is obviously of considerable importance,—I trust that the present Paper, in which this object is effected so far as respects a very remarkable period, will be favourably received by the Society, though it comes from a stranger.

The mode of combining the different fragments, so as to exhibit what remains of this dynasty in connection, appears to me so very obvious, that I am surprised at its not having occurred to others. Attachment to a particular theory may, however, have shut their eyes against a fact which would not harmonize with it.

There is in Egyptian history a very remarkable concurrence of reigns; one that is so exceedingly improbable in itself, that its occurring *twice* cannot

be thought of for a moment. In the list of kings attributed to Eratosthenes, we find—"20th, Apappus, who reigned one hundred years all to one hour." It is natural to correct this to "all to one Horus, or season," so that the reign would be ninety-nine years and eight months. "21st, Echescosocaras, who reigned one year; 22nd, Nitocris, a queen, who reigned six years." In the sixth dynasty of Manetho we have—"4th, Phiops, who began to reign when six years old, and reigned till one hundred years; 5th, Menthesuphis, who reigned one year; 6th, Nitocris, a queen, who reigned twelve years." It has been frequently argued, and with reason, that the two lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes must coincide at this point, as well as at the commencement; that the same three sovereigns must be intended by both of them; and that the apparent discrepancy between them as to the sovereigns who precede and follow these three, however it may be accounted for, cannot be admitted as evidence that there were two queens Nitocris, and two kings who reigned near a hundred years, each followed by one who reigned but a single year.

Now I only ask that this principle shall be applied to the papyrus. If I find there a queen Nitocris, and before her a king with a reign of near a hundred years, followed by another who reigned only one year, I claim that these shall be admitted to be the sovereigns whom Manetho places in his sixth dynasty; and this notwithstanding any difficulty or impossibility which may exist in the harmonizing of the preceding and following kings with those in the list of Manetho. It is, surely, infinitely more probable that either the Turin papyrus is a false record, or the list of Manetho a corrupted one, and that attributed to Eratosthenes a

forgery, than that the papyrus should have truly recorded *two* such combinations of sovereigns; one in the place which I shall quote, and the other in some lost portion of it, where Nitocris was the last sovereign in a dynasty, and where the kings who preceded the one with the long reign corresponded with those mentioned by Manetho in his sixth dynasty.

I proceed to describe the part of the papyrus in which I find these reigns.

In the column which Dr. Lepsius numbers VI. (in the fourth Plate of his Monuments), there is a fragment numbered 59, which contains six lines, at the end of each of which is the word "king," or a portion of it; the fragment extending so far above the first line as to render it certain that this was at the top of a column. Under this is placed a fragment numbered 61, which evidently belongs to the same column; but it does not immediately appear what interval originally existed between the two fragments. Dr. Lepsius has left the space of a single line between them, and has filled this up with a small fragment, No. 60, containing a portion of the word "king." Now I have first to observe that the real interval must have exceeded this, as the following considerations will show. The first line of the lower fragment, No. 61, instead of containing, like the former lines, at its end, the beginning of the word "king," has "making up 18 kings." The figure of 8 is not complete; but the portion of it which remains can belong to no other figure. Now at the bottom of the preceding column (numbered V.) there are nine names of kings, or portions thereof, after the red mark which distinguishes the lines of summation interposed between the dynasties. From this we may infer that

the following column contained nine more names of kings, and consequently that the first line in the fragment No. 61, which contains the sum, was the tenth line of the column. There were, thus, three intervening lines between the 59th and 61st fragments.

This being premised, I observe next that these two fragments contain not only the commencements of the lines in column VI., but the terminations of the lines in column V.; in which the number of years, and sometimes months and days also, that the kings of that column reigned, are mentioned. The majority of these are imperfect, but a few are fully preserved; and one that is only partially so has enough remaining to establish a point of the greatest importance. I allude to the fifth line, in which the length of the reign is stated to be "years 90." A unit doubtless followed; but the portion of the papyrus which it occupied has been eaten away. The length of the next reign (line 6) is preserved entire, "year one, month one." Here, then, we have a reign approximating in length to one hundred years, followed by one of a single year; and we must in reason suppose that these were the two kings who, according to the Greek lists, preceded Queen Nitocris. Some other numbers are given perfectly. The third king in the list is said to have reigned twenty years;—the first reign in fragment No. 61, answering, as I have already shown, to the tenth in the column, was two years, a month, and a day;—the twelfth was precisely the same;—the thirteenth was a year and eight days; and this is followed by one hundred and eighty-one years, evidently intended as the sum of the dynasty.

Here, then, we have a dynasty of thirteen reigns and one hundred and eighty-one years, where Manetho

has one of six reigns and two hundred and three years; and where Eratosthenes, as interpreted by Chevalier Bunsen, has only three reigns and one hundred and seven years. The difference is a very great one; and with respect to Manetho I may add the important particular, that of the seven additional reigns mentioned in the papyrus, six follow that of Queen Nitocris, whom he places at the end of the dynasty. This may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that the reigns of all these kings were very short, and that the twelve years which he ascribes to Nitocris include these six reigns, as well as her own; but the harmonizing of the reigns which preceded the long one with those given by Manetho, seems to me absolutely impossible; especially if we may read the remains of the figures expressing the fourth reign "44 years," which is the natural, though perhaps not the only way of completing them. As to the figure wanting in the long reign, I remark that it could not have been a "nine," for the tail of that figure would have extended to a portion of the papyrus which remains; neither was it followed by any number of months. I think it probable, therefore, that we should supply a "four;" supposing that the authority followed in the papyrus stated this king to have reigned from six years old to one hundred years old, whereas Manetho or his extractors supposed him to have reigned for one hundred years complete.

The number of years attached to the several reigns being thus recovered, as far as may be, from the 59th and 61st fragments in the column marked VI., it remains to seek for the names in column V. The first fragment available is that numbered 43. It contains the names of four sovereigns, commencing

with Nitokrit, the name being spelt nearly in the same manner as that of the well-known queen in the twenty-sixth dynasty. There can be no hesitation, then, I think, in placing this fragment so as that this name should occupy the seventh line in the column. If this be done, however, we must discard from this column the fragment numbered 41, which contains portions of six names of kings: it evidently does not join No. 43, nor can it contain, from the forms of the two fragments, the name next above Nitokrit: it has, therefore, one name more than there is room for in the column. There is nothing connected with this fragment, No. 41, which leads us to place it in this column rather than elsewhere. The small fragment, No. 42, may belong to this column or not; I rather think, however, that it should accompany No. 41 to some other place. I have not been able to discover any other fragments which can be proved to belong to this dynasty, though others may do so for any thing that appears to the contrary; as the 19th fragment, for instance, which contains the name of King Sont. The names, however, of the third, fourth, and fifth kings of the dynasty may be restored with a high degree of probability from the monuments. Most persons will, I believe, admit that the sovereign who reigned ninety-four years was Merirâ Pepi. Now this king styled himself "the third Hawk of Gold," from which it is a fair inference, that the kings who are styled "the second Hawk of Gold" (viz. Merenrâ) and "the Hawk of Gold" without qualification (viz. Senevru), were his predecessors, and the fourth and third kings of the dynasty. With respect to the three kings who follow Nitocris, the first is Neverker; and as there were many kings who bore this prænomen, the

name is added for distinction. Only part of it, however, remains, and I cannot decipher it. The names of the other two kings have not, I believe, been found on the monuments. The last, if complete, signifies "a calf;" and reminds us of An, "the fish," and Sont, "the goose." I give at the end of the Paper a restoration of the dynasty, as far as it can be accomplished.

To reconcile this list with either of those given by Eratosthenes and Manetho, is, I readily acknowledge, beyond my ability. Perhaps, however, those who think they can reconcile these comparatively recent authorities with each other, may find means to reconcile them also with this more ancient one.

I must now say a few words as to the kings who are made to precede and follow this dynasty in the Turin papyrus. It begins, as we have seen, at the top of the column marked v. Now, at the bottom of the column preceding this, marked IV., we have three kings' names at the close of a dynasty, which, as Chevalier Bunsen has pointed out, correspond pretty well to the three kings at the close of the fifth dynasty of Manetho. They are Men-ker-Har, Tat, and Ounas; Manetho's being Mencheres, Tancheres, and Ounos. The numbers of years in their reigns, however, by no means agree. They are in the papyrus 8, 28, and 30 (clearly without an additional figure), and in Manetho 9, 44, and 33. In Manetho, too, the fifth dynasty contains only nine reigns; while the fifth dynasty of the papyrus (as we must call it, both from its preceding the sixth, and from its containing the above three names, corresponding to those which occupy the same position in Manetho's list) has at least twenty-one names of kings; for there are so many in this

column. In the line containing the sum, the number of kings begins with a 60. This, however, was probably the number from Menes.

The dynasty following the sixth in the papyrus contains eighteen reigns. To what dynasty of Manetho can this be made to correspond? To none, certainly, of those which intervene between the sixth and the twelfth. After these eighteen, we have a series of six kings, the fifth of whom is the twenty-sixth in the Karnak table, and the second at the Memnonium. Chevalier Bunsen supposed him to be the "Chuther" of the list of Eratosthenes, as we have it now; but he considers "Chuther" to be a corruption of "Mentuphis." However this may be, his successor in the papyrus is clearly not the twenty-seventh king in the Karnak table. From the end of this series Dr. Lepsius passes at once to the twelfth dynasty; but I suspect he has omitted a column between those numbered VI. and VII., or perhaps transposed it to "the middle kingdom." Even so, however, it is quite obvious that the five dynasties which Manetho places between the sixth and the twelfth are not all enumerated in the papyrus. Two, if not three, of them must be omitted.

My object in making this statement is not to maintain any chronological theory, but to elicit the truth. Extracts from the papyrus have been adduced, which appeared to harmonize with Manetho. I have thought it desirable that a comparison of the papyrus with the Greek lists should be made at greater length, so that it might clearly appear how far they were consistent. The result of the comparison appears to be this. The papyrus contains a much greater number of kings than the list of Manetho does, and it differs

from the latter, to a great extent, in the lengths of the reigns ascribed to the kings. In order to make the two lists agree, we must suppose that either Manetho himself, or those who made the extracts from his work, which alone we now possess, omitted a great number of short reigns of two years and under, distributing the sum of these reigns among the kings whose names they retained; and we must suppose further, that the list, thus intentionally falsified by the omission of short reigns, has been again corrupted, in the numbers as well as in the names, by the mistakes of copyists; in other words, we must suppose that the list of Manetho, as it now stands, is in so corrupt a state, that no dependence whatever can be placed on it,—though there are indications, here and there, of the true reading of the list from which it was originally taken. Such, I conceive, must be the view of the subject taken by any person who believes the papyrus to contain an authentic record. He may regard Manetho's dynasties as a corruption of this record, sometimes, but rarely, preserving its true reading; but I cannot conceive that such a person can believe even thus far in the list attributed to Eratosthenes. He must believe *it* to be the clumsy fabrication of some ignorant person; it is, as it appears to me, utterly irreconcilable with the papyrus. Those, then, who are disposed to regard it as genuine, and as possessing authority, have, in my opinion, no other alternative than to reject the authority of the papyrus altogether. They must not at the same time uphold two contradictory writings as trustworthy documents.

EDWARD HINCKS.

Killyleagh, 7th March, 1846.

SIXTH DYNASTY, AS IT APPEARS IN THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

N. B. Where a line is drawn across, or a word or words bracketed, the papyrus is mutilated or illegible. In the latter case the words are supplied by inference from other statements, as explained in the Paper.

| | | | | Y. | M. | D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | — | — | — | 0 | 6 | 21 |
| II. | — | — | — | — | | |
| III. | [ | — | Senevru ] | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| IV. | [ | — | Merenrâ ] | 44 | 0 | 0[1] |
| V. | [ | | Merirâ Pepi] | 9[4] | 0 | 0 |
| VI. | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| VII. | | — | Nitokrit | — | | |
| VIII. | | ? | Neverker ? | — | | [2] |
| IX. | | — | Neveres | — | | |
| X. | | — | ... Av ? | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| XI. | — | — | — | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| XII. | — | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| XIII. | — | — | — | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| The sum . . . . . | | | | 181 | 0 | 0 |

P.S. Mr. Cullimore has directed my attention to

[1] Number not quite certain.

[2] Second name incomplete and undeciphered.

an interesting and important fact, connected with the foregoing Paper. In a list of the Egyptian dynasties, in barbarous Latin, published by Scaliger, and derived from Castor, or, as Mr. Cullimore thinks, from Apion Grammaticus, the fifth dynasty is said to have contained twenty-one reigns, the very number which is found in the papyrus; and to have lasted two hundred and fifty-eight years, giving a like low average length of each reign to what the papyrus gives us for the following dynasty. The great number of short reigns which appear in all parts of the papyrus accounts in a satisfactory manner for these low averages.—E. H.

## III.—ON THE PORTION OF THE TURIN BOOK OF KINGS WHICH FOLLOWS THAT CORRESPONDING TO THE TWELFTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.[1]

BY DR. E. HINCKS.

(Read May 28th, 1846.)

In a Paper which was read before the Royal Society of Literature on the 12th of March, I showed what statements were contained in the celebrated royal papyrus at Turin, respecting the so-called sixth dynasty. As a proper sequel to this, I am now going to lay before the Society some observations respecting the statements which it makes concerning the dynasties that follow the twelfth. I must begin with remarking that there will be a material difference in my modes of treating the subject in these two Papers. In the former one, I adopted in the main the arrangement of the fragments made by Dr. Lepsius, as being in that part substantially correct; but it will be my chief business in the present Paper to show that his arrangement of those subsequent to the 12th dynasty is, as to the most important points, erroneous; and, from the nature of the subject, the validity of my arguments can only be estimated by those who have the fac-simile of the papyrus before them, and who will follow me with the compass and scale. I

[1] The reader is requested to refer to Plates III. to VII. in the 'Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Alterthums von Dr. R. Lepsius, Leipz. 1842.'

will here state, once for all, that I do not impute bad faith to Dr. Lepsius, though I consider his method of proceeding a very uncritical one. It was evidently his object to arrange the fragments so as to produce the greatest possible degree of conformity between the papyrus and the tablet of Karnak. Believing both of these to be authentic records, he believed that they must needs harmonize with each other; and he arranged the parts of the papyrus with a view to obtain this harmony. It would, however, have been a far more critical course to have sought for *data, in the papyrus itself*, by which its fragments might be arranged in their proper order; and, when this was done, to have compared the two documents with one another, with a view to ascertain if they agreed or differed as to the order of the kings whose names were found in both. This is the course which I mean to pursue in the present Paper. I will first show, from evidence furnished by the papyrus itself, that the arrangement of the fragments adopted by Dr. Lepsius in his fifth Plate is an *impossible* one. I will point out the correction necessary to be made, and I will show that, by making it, the apparent agreement between these two documents, which now exists, will be destroyed; so that one of the two, at least, must be rejected as unworthy of credit.

In seeking for data in the papyrus itself, by which the order of its fragments may be determined, I was naturally led to inquire whether the length of a column of the writing could be discovered. If it could, as the columns in papyri are always nearly of the same length, a limit would be furnished, which must not be exceeded by any proposed combination of fragments in a column. Now this length is

actually given in the column containing the sixth dynasty. The 59th fragment is at the top of this column, containing parts of those numbered v. and vi., and it extends below its 6th line. The 43rd fragment contains portions of the four lines following the 6th; the 61st contains the conclusions of the last of these lines and of the six following, that is, of the 10th to the 16th lines of the column; and the 46th, 47th, and 48th, which are connected, contain the commencements of the last ten lines of the column. The first of these is the sixth line in the 61st fragment; for both of these contain the heading of the dynasty which follows the sixth. That the first line in fragment 46 contains this, appears from the red ink used at its commencement; and that the sixth line in fragment 61 contains it also, appears from the summation of the sixth dynasty being given in the fifth line of this fragment. At the end of this dynasty, and at the end of the twelfth, there appear very clearly to be two lines, distinguished by commencing with red ink, interposed between the kings of one dynasty and those of the next;—the first containing the summation of the reigns and years of the former dynasty; and the second containing a heading to the latter. Now the 6th line of the 61st fragment is the 15th line of the column, and as this is followed by nine lines in fragments 46, 47, and 48, the last line in the column is the 24th; and the writing in the column appears, from actual measurement, to have extended over 12·7 inches. The column numbered iv. contains, in like manner, a series of connected fragments extending over 22 lines, which occupy 12·2 inches. The last of these lines contains the sum of the reigns and years in

the dynasty preceding the sixth; and, as the sixth dynasty commences at the top of the following column, there is just one line wanting in this fourth column, containing the heading of the sixth dynasty. This would occupy about half an inch. The length of this column would thus be 12·7 inches, the same as that of the following; but it contained only 23 lines, in place of 24. With respect to these two columns, I adopt the arrangement of the fragments made by Dr. Lepsius, as unquestionably right. It appears to me, however, quite evident that the fragments numbered 41 and 44, wherever else they belong to, have been improperly placed in their present positions. As to the part of the column, numbered VI., which is connected with the preceding column, namely, the fragments numbered 59–63, there can, of course, be no question; but I am now going to show that with respect to the fragments numbered 64–67, containing the beginning of the twelfth dynasty, and with respect to the columns numbered VII., VIII., and IX., the arrangement proposed by Dr. Lepsius is altogether erroneous.

The column which follows that containing the twelfth dynasty contains to the end of the 63rd fragment 10·7 inches, breaking off in the middle of the 18th line. It contains nine kings of the dynasty following the sixth, the summation of the eighteen reigns of that dynasty, the heading of the next dynasty, and ends in the line containing the seventh king of this dynasty. This is parallel to the fifth line from the top of the 46th fragment; and it is impossible that more than five additional names could be contained in the column. Yet Dr. Lepsius has appended to this the portion of the

papyrus containing the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; namely, seven lines, occupying 4·2 inches. It is quite impossible that these lines should belong to the same column as that which I have just described. They must be the conclusion of some other column; and I can see no reason for supposing that they were the conclusion of that which next followed the one in which they are now improperly placed. For ought that appears to the contrary, one or two entire columns may have intervened. We have ample room, then, in this place, for the fragments in Dr. Lepsius's columns VIII. and IX., which I will show to be improperly placed there.

The upper part of Dr. Lepsius's fifth Plate contains the commencements of three adjoining columns. Respecting their order and connection, there can be no doubt. I would only observe that the small fragment No. 73, which Dr. Lepsius has interposed between two portions of the first of the three columns, must be removed about a quarter of an inch to the left; and, in order to make room for it, the fragment No. 74 must be taken away. Unless this change in the position of No. 73 be made, there will not be room for the characters corresponding to the *eye* and the *owl*, which, according to the analogy of many similar lines, must have preceded the word signifying 'reigning,' which begins the 73rd fragment. "He passed in reigning, one year, three months, and twenty-four days."

Of the three commencements of columns which occur in this Plate, the first contains thirteen lines, occupying 6·8 inches. The two first of these lines contain the names of the two last reigns of the twelfth dynasty; the third contains the summation of the

reigns, and of the years, months, and days, that they occupied; the fourth, the title or heading of the next dynasty; and then follow nine lines with names of kings. The second column contains eight names of kings, occupying 4·2 inches, in its upper portion; and the third contains portions of eleven lines, extending over 5½ inches in continuity; but a fragment, No. 98, evidently belonging to this column, and containing portions of some of the last lines in the preceding one, carries the connection to the fourteenth line *at least*, seven inches from the top. This is according to Dr. Lepsius's arrangement; but I rather think—indeed I have no doubt—that he has placed the 98th fragment too high, and that the last line is either the fifteenth or sixteenth in the column.

I now come to consider the fragments which Dr. Lepsius has arranged in the lower part of this Plate. The principal of these is compounded of those numbered 76–79, which are evidently connected. I must observe, however, that Dr. Lepsius has made the lateral interval between No. 76 and the others too great by about ·4 inch, as appears from the consideration of several words, which begin in No. 76 and conclude in No. 77. Now the great error with which I charge Dr. Lepsius is, that in order to bring the papyrus to harmonize with the Karnak tablet, he has placed this combination of fragments at the foot of the first column in Plate V., instead of at the foot of the second column. The proof of this dislocation which I offer is, that if this compound fragment be placed in the first column, that column will considerably exceed the standard length. The compound fragment contains fourteen lines, extending over 7·5 inches. If this could be immediately

connected with the portion of the first column, under which it is now placed, we should have 27 lines and 14·3 inches, in addition to the interval between the bottom of the thirteenth line and the top of the fourteenth, which would be about ·2 in. The papyrus itself, however, furnishes evidence that this would not suffice. Over the first line in the 77th fragment there is a projecting blank space, and under the last line in the upper part of the column is another. Dr. Lepsius, by that lateral displacement of the 77th fragment, to which I have adverted, has prevented these projections from interposing; but when the correction which I have pointed out is made, one would lie just over the other. The sum of these two projections exceeds ·4 inch; and, as this is too great for the interval between two adjacent lines, it would follow, that if these fragments belonged to the same column, *at least one* line must intervene between them. This would give, at the very least, 28 lines in the column, occupying 15 inches; being 2·3 inches and four or five lines above the standard.

This is the minimum length of the column, as inferred from the papyrus itself. In arguing, however, with those who would advocate the correctness of its present position, on account of its thus harmonizing with the Karnak tablet, I have a right to inquire whether any other condition as to the length of the column is imposed on us by the assumed necessity of maintaining this harmony. I find that there is. Chev$^{r}$. Bunsen says (vol. iii. p. 41) that "at least two names" must be added to the end of the compound fragment; which names intervene in the Karnak list between the last name in the compound fragment and the name at the top of the following column.

We have thus 30 lines, *altogether*, in the column, and 16 inches, in place of the 23 or 24 lines, and the 12·7 inches, which are found in other columns of known length. This is, I may safely say, an inadmissible hypothesis. The compound fragment must, therefore, be transferred to the second column, where it will just fit in. If we suppose its top line to be the ninth of the column, or that which next follows the upper portion, the last line will be the 22nd, and the length will be about 12 inches to the bottom of this line. The column must have contained one line more than this, and that line may have either intervened between the two fragments, or followed the lower one. I will adopt the former supposition as the more probable. I may here mention that an argument has been founded on the resemblance between the royal names in the large compound fragment and those in the second column of Plate V., in favour of its immediately *preceding* the latter. This argument is not of a conclusive nature, and should not be admitted to weigh against the positive argument drawn from the length of the column of writing; and yet it has some force, apparently, as the resemblance between the prænomens is certainly very great. The connection between the fragments which contain these similar names is, however, just as well preserved by placing the compound fragment, as I do, immediately after the names at the top of the middle column, as by placing them, with Dr. Lepsius, before them.

On grounds similar to those on which I remove the combination of fragments 76–79 from the bottom of the first column in Plate V., I remove the fragment numbered 101, and those in connection with it, from

the bottom of the third column. This contains twelve lines and a portion of a thirteenth; and if it were even assumed that it immediately joined No. 98, which, from the appearance of the two fragments, is scarcely admissible, it would make the number of lines in the column at least 27; or rather, at least 28, since the figure of 8 at the top of No. 98 does not correspond with the 7th line in No. 81, of which it is made to be a continuation, but must be a part of the 8th line in the column, or possibly of the 9th. The length of the column would also be in the same proportion excessive.

I am not prepared to say where No. 101 should be placed; but I think it probable that it, together with a number of fragments in the following Plate, should be placed in some of the columns preceding the twelfth dynasty, which Dr. Lepsius has suppressed. The restoration of these fragments to their proper order is a work which can only be effected at the Turin Museum, if indeed it can be effected even there; but I regard it as quite certain that their present order is incorrect; and that, in particular, the separation of the beginning of the twelfth dynasty from the column with which it is now connected, and the transfer of the great compound fragment from the first to the second column of Plate V., are imperatively required.

I have now to compare the order in which the names which are common to the papyrus and to the Karnak tablet are found in these two places. Fortunately, all these names occur in the parts of the papyrus which have had their relative positions satisfactorily determined. I will number the Karnak names on the right hand of the tablet from 1 to 30,

as Chevalier Bunsen has done, which amounts to the same thing as deducting 31 from each of Dr. Lepsius's numbers; and I will number the names in the papyrus from the close of the twelfth dynasty. The first name in the papyrus is the 20th at Karnak. Chev^r^. Bunsen, indeed, reads it differently, supposing the first character to be *an arm holding a cone,—i. e.* ti, 'giver,' in place of *an arm holding a whip,—i. e.* khu, 'director;' but the hieratic character for the former is never made as here, nor indeed would 'giver of Egypt' be a likely title for a Pharaoh to assume. The following name is said by Chev^r^. Bunsen to be the first Karnak name; but, as only one character of that name remains, it would be more correct to say, that it cannot be proved that it is not the same with it.

The three following names do not occur among the preserved names on the right-hand side of the Karnak tablet; and the second Karnak name certainly does not occur in this part of the papyrus. The sixth in the papyrus is the third at Karnak. The three next do not occur among the Karnak names; and there followed at least nine names of kings which are lost. Eleven lines of the papyrus are wanting, but it is probable that two of these contained the summation of a dynasty, and the heading of another.

The first name in the next column of the papyrus, which I will call the 19th, though it was possibly the 21st, is the 10th at Karnak. The name is mutilated; but according to Dr. Lepsius, though not according to Mr. Burton, there is enough left to identify it.

The six following names in the papyrus are distinctly legible; and nothing like any of them occurs at Karnak among the names preceding or following

the 10th. The third of them, however, the 22nd of the series, occupies the 21st place in the tablet.

The next name, the 26th, is imperfect. Chevalier Bunsen is disposed to identify it with the 14th at Karnak; but this is not certain, nor do I think it probable. The 27th name is wanting; the five next are all distinctly legible, and are not in the Karnak list. The next name, the 33rd, though somewhat mutilated, is so far preserved as to make it certain that it is the 4th at Karnak, with which Chevalier Bunsen also identifies it.

The 34th and 37th names in the papyrus certainly do not correspond with any Karnak names; the 35th and 36th are so much mutilated that it cannot be said whether they do or not. The 38th is partly defaced. Chevalier Bunsen thinks it may be the 5th name at Karnak, which is wholly defaced. The 39th name is only partially preserved, and may or may not be the same as the 6th at Karnak. The 40th is certainly not among the Karnak names, but the 41st is certainly the 7th name at Karnak.

It appears, then, that six names occur in the papyrus which occur also at the right-hand side of the Karnak tablet. Their order is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P. 1 = K. 20, | P. 19 = K. 10, | P. 33 = K. 4, |
| P. 6 = K. 3, | P. 22 = K. 21, | P. 41 = K. 7. |

Looking to these coincidences only, and numbering the names in the papyrus, as I have done, no one would ever think of recognizing the two lists as containing the same names in the same order: but if the first and fourth of these coincidences be rejected or unnoticed; if the series of names in the papyrus, P. 29–41, be interposed between P. 9 and P. 19; and if four coincidences be, rather illogically, assumed to

exist because it cannot be proved that they do not, viz.

P. 2 = K. 1; P. 27 = K. 14; P. 38 = K. 5; P. 39 = K. 6;

*then*, indeed, a plausible case may be made out. Yet, after all these arbitrary assumptions, there are still insuperable difficulties, as it appears to me, in the way of receiving this hypothesis. The 2nd, and again the 11th and 13th Karnak shields, can by no management be made to coincide with those in the papyrus, to which, according to the hypothesis, they should correspond.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it appears to me that we are reduced to an alternative very similar to that at which I arrived in my former Paper. If the papyrus be admitted to be an authentic document, the Karnak tablet must be abandoned, as being nothing more than a collection of figures and names of former kings, placed together without any regard to chronological order. If, on the other hand, any one chooses to uphold the Karnak tablet as an historical document, he must, in order to be consistent, reject the papyrus as of no authority.

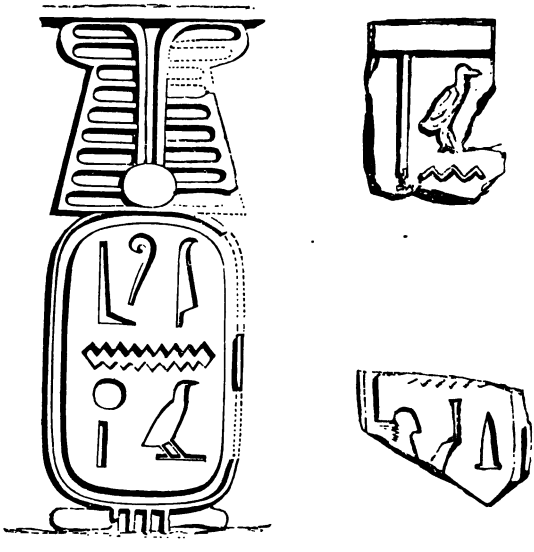
EDWARD HINCKS.

Killyleagh, 5th May, 1846.

## IV.—OBSERVATIONS ON TWO EGYPTIAN CARTOUCHES AND SOME OTHER IVORY ORNAMENTS, FOUND AT NIMROUD.

BY S. BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read January 27th, 1848.)



I HAVE the honour of transmitting to the Society a copy of the cartouches recently discovered by Mr. Layard amidst the ruins of the mound at Nimroud; and before describing and making any remarks on these important remains, which connect the Egyptian

and Assyrian empires, will succinctly mention the circumstances under which they were discovered. These have been orally communicated to me by the discoverer, with that kindness and liberality with which he has imparted the results of his brilliant discoveries.

The so-called mound of Nineveh consists of a rectangular enceinte of 900 yards wide by 1800 long, having at the north end an elevated conical mound of about 90 feet high: within the enceinte were discovered the remains of five edifices,—palaces, temples, or tombs,—which had at an early period fallen to decay, or been laid waste. Amidst the débris of the mound, covering the most ancient of the three palaces, were found the ivories, some of which were literally dug or picked out of the rubbish. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine for what purpose they were placed there,—whether as boxes, or panels for inlaying furniture in an upper room, or for ornamenting the walls, or as the decorations of chests, or sepulchral coffers (πύελοι). For this last purpose, however, they appear to be too small; but there is considerable reason for supposing, from their number and subject, that they were arranged along a rectangular coffer or cubical stand. Many of them, indeed, which are rectangular panels, appear to have been worked in with wood, as they have tenons for that purpose, and others have mortises, for tenons of the substance to which they were attached. This was probably a wood such as cedar or ebony, both of which were used not only in Assyria, but also in Greece, at an early period. These chests could not have been much thicker than the ivory, as tenons are useless for the purpose of veneering, and at all events were not so employed by the Egyptians for that purpose. Many

of the animals carved in bas-relief were applied as distinct parts of a composition, and their repetition suggests that they were disposed in continuous friezes or bands, a mode of treatment adopted at an early period in Greece. Their effect was, no doubt, increased by the application of gold, which has always entered into artistic combinations with this material.

I will now describe the fragments.

1. Head of a man, full face, and a left cheek, of style peculiarly Egyptian; the eyes sunk for the purpose of inlaying; the brows incuse, and prolonged towards the ears, and filled with blue colour: the back of the head, which is flat, has been inlaid into wood: the face measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high.—2. A pendent left arm,—the hand clenched: on the shoulder of this arm is the border of the garment, represented by pendent drops, and incused; these are inlaid with blue paint, and the part just below them is gilded, showing that the garment was gold: the length of this arm is $4\frac{7}{12}$ inches, and as the distance from the elbow to the knuckles is equal to two faces, it formed part of a figure of the same proportions.—3. Fore-part of a foot, completely carved, and which has been inlaid and projected: there is rather a deep hole between the great and first toe, but its use is uncertain.—4. A head, much decomposed, from a similar figure.—5, 6. Two pairs of hands, clasping each other, perhaps from a figure in a dignified action, like that of the kings of Nimroud and Khorsabad, $2\frac{4}{12}$ inches long.—5.* Garment with disked uræi inlaid. These fragments seem to have come from figures whose bodies were of ebony or cedar, covered with an imitation of drapery, which was gilded, while the exposed parts of the body, similar to the wooden statues with stone extremities, called

ἀκρόλιθοι by the Greeks, were executed in ivory. There is no trace of staining, which is the more remarkable, as it was an art known at an early period.

The following were applied as bas-reliefs, and either inlaid or else fixed by a glue.—7. Jaws of a lion or panther, 2 inches high and 2 inches wide.—8. A stag, grazing, and going to the left; incomplete, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.—9. Heads of two other stags, proceeding in the reverse direction, to the right.—10. Anterior part of a stag, nearly in full relief, head raised.—11-16. A cow, and portions of others, standing towards the right, but turning back its head, and licking its calf; $3\frac{4}{12}$ inches long.—17. Similar cow, turned to the left, 3 inches long.—18. Calves, which have apparently formed part of a group with the cows, which they may have been sucking; $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.—19, 20. Bodies of winged gryphons, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. These portions, from their rounded edges, which are entirely relieved, and from their flatness behind, have evidently been applied on a surface of another material. It is possible that they were disposed in friezes, alternating with each other through the series, along the upper sides of coffers or even chairs. Animal friezes, probably derived from Asiatic art, appear among the earliest efforts of Greek artists, and were derived from the barbarous and grotesque forms which were introduced by the tapestries and other objects of Asiatic luxury and commerce.[1] The gryphon is a monster, the invention of which can be distinctly traced to Central Asia.[2] Of nearly the same

[1] Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst, § 237, 3, s. 287. Philostr. Imagg. II. 5, 32. Euripides, Ion, 1196.

[2] The silver object brought by the Kfa (Hoskins's Æthiopia, Pl. Tomb at Thebes; Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, Ser. I. vol. i. Pl. IV.) is a vase terminating in the head of a gryphon—a prototype

proportions are (21), the fragment of a bull, going to the right, the eye inlaid with blue, $1\frac{5}{12}$ inch high; (22), a fragment of another bull, $1\frac{3}{12}$ inch long.—The remainder are all portions of flat panels, of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with tenons above and below; they are all carved in bas-relief, of a round and Egyptian style; the accessories, such as the eyes, draperies, and portions of the chair, inlaid with a deep-blue glass, probably an imitation of lapis lazuli, and some of the more important parts gilded. They are evidently the prototype of the toreutic work of the Greeks.—23, 24, 25. Three panels, which represent each the same subject, a monarch unbearded, wearing on his head the Egyptian *kheprr* or helmet, which is ornamented with a series of annulations or rings, perhaps to show that it was of chain or scale armour, and has in front the uræus serpent, emblem of royalty, with an Assyrian garment round the loins, like the Egyptian *shenti*, apparently, from its corrugated folds, intended to represent wool, with a long pendent fold on the left side; the whole with a border of oval drops; the legs bare, and unshod, advancing to the right; holding in his left hand a tall flower of the lotus, which rises out of a clod of earth; the whole representing the Egyptian symbol for the upper country. As pendants to these are three other panels (26, 27, 28), on which a figure, exactly the same, advances to the right: these, which are nearly of equal size, measuring $3\frac{5}{12}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{12}$ inches wide, have evidently been placed in composition with one another, probably arranged in pairs

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of the rhyton: for similar vases terminating below in the heads of lions, cf. Botta, Nineveh, Pl. 16 and 25.

or else in series, facing to the right and left.—29. Two figures in Egyptian style, with hair falling in locks from the crown of the head; squared at the base; wearing the shenti round the loins; standing face to face, and cording up between them a double flower of the papyrus: each figure places one foot on a flower of the papyrus. These figures are apparently imitated from the ordinary representation of the Nile, cording up the flowers of the lotus and papyrus common to the sides of Egyptian thrones. There is half of a similar panel with the figure on the left side (30): the large panel measures $3\frac{1}{11}$ inches wide and 3 inches high; the fragment $2\frac{11}{12}$ inches by $1\frac{11}{12}$ inch.—31. Portion of another panel, representing an Assyrian deity, bearded and draped, standing, looking to the left, and holding in his pendent left hand a symbol of life; probably the god Baal or Belus; $2\frac{7}{12}$ inches high.—32-35. Three panels, and head from another, also of style peculiarly Egyptian: they represent a kind of window with three plain mouldings, in which is a head carved in Egyptian style in very salient relief, the locks falling in regular rows of curls: in some instances these curls are tied at the ends; the neck has a collar round it, and is placed on a stand, supported by four pillars, with capitals in shape of the lily lotus.[3] These measure $3\frac{7}{12}$ inches square, and were probably disposed at the triangular or gable end of whatever object they decorated. There are four other heads (36), of most exquisite style, and in good preservation, which seem to have belonged to a similar

[3] If the columns of Beni-Hassan are proto-doric (Champ. Lett. Ecr. Pl. v. p. 75), these are proto-ionic: similar columns will be seen on a distyle edifice in a pleasure-ground on a bas-relief at Khorsabad.—Botta, Nineveh, fo. Paris, 1848, Pl. 114.

panel. The ears in these panels follow the Egyptian canon, being placed above the eyes.—37. An imperfect panel, of large size: two winged sphinxes, placed back to back, facing outwards; their hair in pendent Egyptian locks, and in front of them palmettes; 6 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.—38. Part of another sphinx and emblem *tet*, from a similar panel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Here we also have unequivocally an Egyptian symbol; for among the Egyptians the sphinx, whose first appearance is about the time of Thothmes III., represented their monarch the man-lion, the terror of shepherds, and it was probably introduced into Assyrian art in the same sense. The sphinxes are winged, from which an attempt may be made to draw an inference respecting the age of these carvings, but without sufficient data; for a scarabæus in the collections of the British Museum has the monarch *Thothmes III.* represented as a *winged* sphinx, trampling on a fallen Asiatic; and on a monument at Turin, the queen *Mu-t-shem-t* is painted as a female sphinx, with the body of a lioness, winged.[4] No conclusion can be drawn from this circumstance against the ivories being as old as the eighteenth dynasty. I must place with these pieces (39), part of a large panel, of very fine style, representing a lion advancing to the right amidst the tall reeds of some river, five of the stems of which remain. This fragment, which rivals many of the archaic remains of Greece, has been embellished with blue and gold: it measures 3·5 inches by 6 inches. Some smaller portions, representing a man in a chariot (40); a chain border, exactly like the Greek (41); a fleurette of

[4] Champollion, Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, 8vo, Paris, 1824, Pl. I.

eight petals, $\frac{11}{12}$ths of an inch in diameter (42); and another of twelve, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of an inch in diameter (43), must close my description of this part of these ivories.

I now come to what is of superlative interest,—the epigraphical or inscribed portion of these remains, especially the two cartouches. The first of these panels, which is the most complete, measures 9 inches long by 6 inches high. It has the cartouche (A) placed vertically in the centre, surmounted by a solar disk, gilded, flanked by two ostrich feathers which are inlaid with narrow horizontal strips of opaque blue glass, probably imitations of lapis lazuli, with some few bars in green. The area of the cartouche is gilded, and the hieroglyphics are incused, and inlaid with blue glass. At each side is a divinity, beardless, wearing the long hair-dress called *namms*, also inlaid with blue, and draped in linen garments, enveloping the whole of the form, with a border of inlaid blue ovals. The seats on which they sit are the usual Egyptian throne, the sides decorated with scales alternately of blue and opaque green pastes, inlaid into the ivory, and intended to imitate lapis lazuli and felspar. At the lower corner, in a compartment in gilded ivory on a blue back-ground, is a symbol of life. Each divinity holds in one hand a *tam* or *kukupha* sceptre, and holds up the other with the palm turned towards the cartouche. No name is attached to either of these figures, which are probably intended for deities of an inferior rank, such as the Persian Izjeds. Like all the Egyptian figures, they are unbearded, but their drapery is not that of Egyptian females. The hieroglyphics in the cartouche face from right to left, and consist of the following symbols:

1. the reed A.
2. the cord or boat-head U.
3. the leg B.
4. water N.
5. the duckling U.
6. the sun's disk.
7. the determinative bar.

The whole consequently reads AUBNU, or, as the *b* is in sound like our *v*, AUVNU.

If Nos. 6 and 7 are determinative, as they usually are, it is to be merely read *Auvnu;* but if they are to be pronounced as they occasionally were at the end of certain names, they must be read RA, and the whole is then AUBNU-RA, or AUVNU-RA.

It is, of course, of the highest importance in this inquiry to decide what is to be understood by this cartouche. Considered as a mere Egyptian word, and as having the paragogic reed *a*, it is UBNU, 'the Shining,' to which the sun's disk and bar may be considered as an addition equivalent to RA, *Ἥλιος*, 'the Sun,' in the same manner as these symbols are added after

Amen
Num
Mentu
Atmu } -ra,
Aten
Sebak

to connect them with the solar cycle of gods.

There is no especial deity of the Egyptian Pantheon called UBNU; yet as this word is constructed in the same manner as the names of Egyptian deities, it may be that of an Assyrian deity, translated or

transcribed into hieroglyphics. The name **ΩΑΝΝΗΣ**, the Chaldæan god, half man, half fish, is the nearest approximation to it of the Assyrian names which have reached us. Oannes, according to the legends of the true Berossos,[5] was the mythic founder of the Chaldæan empire, who issued from the Red Sea, and communicated a knowledge of the arts and sciences to the people of Babylon. His identity with the Sun seems alluded to by the fact of his nightly retiring into the sea, *τοῦ δ' ἡλίου δύναντος τὸ ζῶον τουτονὶ Ὠάννην δῦναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαιτᾶσθαι.*[6] As a series of similar deities, such as Baal, Astaruta, Sydyk, and Dagon, appear to have possessed a common worship, extending from the Euphrates to the coast of Syria, there is no reason why Oannes, although described by Berossos from the wall-paintings at Babylon, may not have been worshipped at an early period as far north as Nineveh. Both nations undoubtedly possessed a pure Sabæanism, and it is highly probable that the Chaldees derived their religion from their Assyrian predecessors. Although the accounts of Semiramis are legendary, yet it must be supposed that the names in connection with her are of Assyrian origin, and that of her original husband Onnes, *Ὄννης*,[7] approaches closely the Chaldæan Oannes.

[5] Syncellus, Chronographia, p. 28, *et seq.* Eusebius, Ex Interpr. Armen. Chron. I. 2.

[6] Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, B. III. Urkundbuch, p. 93.

[7] Ctesias, à Müller, 8vo, Paris, 1844, p. 17, s. 6. p. 18, extr. Anonymi Tract. de Mulieribus quæ bello claruerunt. *Ὀννέῳ* in the dative.—Diod. II. 6. Cf. the name **ΟΒΝΟΣ** (Obnos) of the last king of the fifth or sixth Egyptian dynasty, in Africanus (Sync. pp. 57, 58). Bunsen, Aeg. St. B. III. Urkundbuch, s. 16, reads Onnos.—*Ibid.* Taf. II.

Two modes of transcription may have been adopted by the Assyrian artists. I. A direct transcription into phonetic elements, without reference to the sense. II. A transcription by the nearest similar word in Egyptian. Should this latter be the case here, it suggests that Oannes must have signified the '*Sunshine*,' the '*Sunlight*,' the Sabæan intellectual and physical creator of existing nature.

It is hardly probable that the name of an Assyrian or Chaldæan god should have been translated into hieroglyphics; for in all the instances of the names which can be recognized, such as the Assyrian gods Baal[8] and Astarta,[9] the Phœnician Renpu[10] or Reseph, the Moabitish Ken,[11] the Armenian and Assyrian Anata,[12]

[8] Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 122.

[9] Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, B. I. s. 479. In the Egyptian collections of the British Museum are several objects made of ivory, or with ivory inlaid in them,—such as a small figure of uncertain age from Memphis; a chair of ebony inlaid with ivory; some hair-pins; a scribe's palette; a box inlaid with ivory and porcelain, the ivory stained pink; several elegant spoons in shape of divinities, ducks, &c.; the tips of the handles of poniards, and some semicircular engraved objects. In the Louvre also are some objects of ivory hair-pins.—Champollion, Notice descriptive des Monumens du Museé Charles X. p. 70, h. 8, 13, 14; hair-pins, p. 75, 14–18; bracelets, p. 84, No. 326–331; scribe's palette, p. 101; a little doll, p. 107, No. 175; a knuckle bone, p. 180; a bolt, p. 108, No. 210, in the Berlin Museum, Passalacqua Catalogue Raisonnée et Historique, 8vo, Paris, 1826.

It is interesting to compare with these ivories those in Hieratic Greek style, executed in Etruria.—Museo-Etrusco-Vaticano, fo. Romæ, 1846, Pt. II. Tav. CVI.

[10] Lanci, Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes, 8vo, Paris, 1847, p. 19. Prisse, Mon. Pl. XXVII.

[11] Cf. Prisse, Mon. Pl. XXVII. Lanci, Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes, 8vo, Paris, 1847, p. 19.

[12] Birch, Gallery. Lanci, *loc. cit.* 21. Bunsen, Aeg. Stelle, B. I. s. 479. Cf. Wilkinson, M. C. Ser. II. Pl. 70, Pt. I.

or Anaitis, the foreign names of the god Amen-ra, as well as the names and titles of the Persian rulers of Egypt,—a direct transcription, and not a translation into hieroglyphics,[13] is always found. The introduction of these divinities into Egypt, which can be traced to the XVIII.-XIX. dynasty, is coeval with the epoch of the great conquests of Egypt in Central Asia.

There is, however, another hypothesis applicable to this cartouche—that *it represents the name of an Assyrian king, transcribed into hieroglyphics.* In order to identify it, if possible, with such a name, I have collated it carefully with the lists of names of Assyrian monarchs which have reached us, from Eusebius, the Syncellus, Moses of Chorrene, and other chronographists of a later period. The names of the second or Chaldæan dynasty may be considered to be authentic; but those of the first line, with the exception of a few names, such as Ninus, Ninyas, and Sardanapalus, which may be called historical, are in such a state, owing to ignorant and careless scribes and designing compilers, that no reliance can be placed upon them, nor a deduction safely drawn from an isolated coincidence, if such existed. What credence, for example, can we give to successions into which are introduced such names as Xerxes (Persian), Sethos (Egyptian), Lamprides and Laosthenes (Greek)? It is in vain that we should endeavour to detach from such a mass the true elements of Assyrian history. Neither is the name philologically composed, like the

[13] Lepsius, Todtenbuch, c. 165, Taf. LXXIX. in the chapter appended to the great ritual, and probably added at a later time: one of the names of the god (line 9), reading *Sharsha-takata,* commences with a name having the same elements as Ξέρξη-ς: in *takata* is probably the form ταργατης, as in Ἀταργέτης.

name of a king; and if it is supposed to be a prænomen which the Assyrian monarch might have assumed in imitation of his Egyptian contemporaries, there is scarcely one in the whole Egyptian series constructed in the same manner; for in these the disk of the sun is universally placed first. It is much more probable that it is a prænomen than a name; and in this case the fragment of the other name, which will be subsequently discussed, might be the name of the monarch. As it is exceedingly desirable that the age of the cartouche should, if possible, be determined, in order to fix the period of the palaces of Nimroud, there are the following considerations to guide the inquiry: its artistic style,—philological peculiarities,—and the state of political relations between Egypt and Assyria.

The style of art of the hieroglyphics is not purely Egyptian, but rather resembles an imitation by foreign artists than the workmanship of native carvers of the sacred character. This is particularly shown in the unusual length of the second character and the thickness of the fourth. The cartouche is surmounted by a solar disk and two plumes, a mode of ornamentation adopted not earlier than the XVIII. dynasty,[14]—the first example being in the reign of Thothmes III., and Amenophis III. has his prænomen on the bricks thus decorated; as are the cartouches [15] of Sethos I. of the XVIII.-XIX. dynasty, and his successors. At the time of the XXVI. dynasty, cartouches thus surmounted are introduced into the texts,[16] and the Persian rulers of Egypt have their names thus inscribed.[17] The custom seems more prevalent at this latter period, and probably in

[14] Prisse, Monumens Egyptiens, Pl. XXIII.

[15] Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica, Pl. II.: at Gournah.

[16] Ibid. Pl. IV.

[17] Ibid. Pl. VIII.

the first instance arose from the artistic arrangement of cartouches in the cornices of the temples and palaces. The head attire of the king cannot be older than the XVIII. dynasty; it bears some resemblance to that of Amenophis III. at Karnak,[18] and the *kheprr* appears at the commencement of the same line: the absence of peaked sandals and of the masses of locks of side hair precludes the idea of their having been imitated from works of art of the XIX. or XX. dynasty, when the hair was rounded beneath, a custom which prevailed till the XXVI. dynasty. It might possibly be in the fashion of the XXII. dynasty.

I have already pointed out the state of political relations existing between Egypt and Assyria, when Thebes, Babylon, and Nineveh were united by commerce and conquest from the commencement of the XVIII. dynasty to its close. Naharaina and Saenkar, or Singara, appear at the head of the conquests of Sethos I., and Carchemish joined the grand central Asiatic league against his son and successor. Perhaps a petty chieftain of Assyria may be mentioned in the same reign.[19] Traffic brought the wares of the same countries into the hands of his successors, and this is the earliest period to which these ivories could be referred.

There is nothing in the philological construction of the cartouches which can guide us to their precise era. The second character, the *u*,[20] begins to be extensively used at the period of the XX. dynasty;

[18] Prisse, Monumens Egyptiens, Pl. XXIII.

[19] Select Papyri, Pl. LVIII. line 6: 'thy name will be made like Kata-ru-ti, the chief of Asar.' Cf. Hincks, Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc. Winchester Congress, 1846.

[20] Cf. Hincks, Trans. Roy. Irish Academy, vol. XXI. Pt. II. p. 56; Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 8vo. Lond. 1848, p. 570.

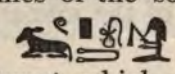
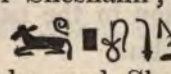
but it was employed as early as the XVIII., although I doubt if it were so otherwise than exceptionally before that time. The other symbols are in use at all times from the IV. dynasty till the Romans. Still the age of the XXII. dynasty would well suit the cartouche, if stress may be laid upon this fact.

The first indication of the restoration of political relations between the two countries occurs in the XXI. dynasty of Tanite kings. The monarch commonly called Pehor, or Pehar, had a family of nineteen sons, two of whom bear names evidently of foreign origin, for the seventh is called Ma-swa-ha [r] ta, and the eighth Ma-swa-ka-hata. These names appear to be Semitic; for their initial and final syllables are those introduced into other Semitic names which had become inserted, as it were, into the Egyptian language. The first part, indeed, which is common to both names, is essentially the same as that of the Maasu or Masii, a nation lying to the north of Nineveh. Under the following dynasty, the XXII. or Bubastite, there are more undeniable traces of Assyrian connection in the names of the monarchs and princes of this line.

The name of *Sheshank* is by no means referable to Egyptian roots. His name in hieroglyphics is SHSHNK;[21] or, attributing to the characters their inherent syllabic. value, SHASHANKA. There are, however, certain external traces of the name of this monarch being foreign: his name is written by Manetho Σεσόγχωσις, or Σέσωγχις,[22] and in

[21] Rosellini, M. St. tomo iv. p. 149.

[22] Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, Buch. III. s. 133. Boeckh, Manetho,

the Armenian version Sesonchusis,—while barbarized variations occur, as Sysonchosis, Sensecoris, Sensecorus, Senscoris; and in Africanus, Sesonchis or Sesoonchis,—in the Hebrew, שֵׁשַׁק, Shashaq, with the Masoretic punctuation,—and in the Septuagint, and Laterculus, Σουσακεὶμ, Susakeim. This is plural; but why introduced—for it differs from the Hebrew form—unless to mark a dynastic name? The name Sheshak, which differs only slightly from Shashaq[23] in its radical elements, is applied in two places to a country given by the Septuagint as Babylon; at which place were also celebrated a national festival called the *Sesacea*.[24] Solomon had previously married an Egyptian princess when Jeroboam fled to Egypt, to the court of Shishak, and married, according to some editions of the Septuagint, a relation of Shishak's; or, according to the Syncellus, his sister.[25] The monarch of the preceding Egyptian dynasty had married a princess of the foreign nation of the Bashten,[26] and there is no reason why the name of Sheshank might not be derived from foreign sources. There is, however, indication of a foreign element in the names of the sons of Sheshank; that of the eldest is  or  [27] *Shau-puata*, or *Shuput*, which may be read Shapud,

u. die Hundsternperiode, s. 314, u. f. For the genealogy of this branch, see Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

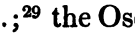
[23] Jeremiah xxv. 26; li. 41.

[24] Ctesias, à Müller, 8vo, Par. 1844, p. 33, s. 16. Athenæus, xiv. p. 639.

[25] Boeckh, *loc. cit.*

[26] Prisse, Mon. Egypt. Pl. iv. Champollion, Gr. Egypt. p. 398. Champollion-Figeac, Egypte, p. 225.

[27] Cf. Champollion, Mon. tome iv. Pl. cxxii. *bis*. Rosellini, M. St. tomo iv. p. 165, reads *Usceopt* or *Ousepot;* Lepsius, in Bunsen's Aegyptens Stelle, Buch ii. s. 133, *Schuopt*.

following the analogy of other Assyrian names, such as Arphaxad or Nimrud, which latter name, it will be seen, was subsequently introduced into this line, and is not referable to Egyptian roots. The second son of Shishak was named Usorchon,[28] or rather  Ua-svarken I.;[29] the Osorthon, *'Οσορθὼν*, or Osorchon, *'Οσορχὼ[ν]*, of the Greek lists. The Egyptian name varies considerably, as it appears in the lists of Manetho, Africanus, and the Syncellus:[30] the true form is the last, restored by Boeckh from the name of the king of the XXI. dynasty. Manetho's observation, *ὃν 'Ηρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκάλεσαν*, shows that the name was peculiar, and not familiar; apparently foreign,—for, as written in hieroglyphics, it differs entirely from the name of *Chons*. The identity of this name with that of Serak,[31] סרך, proposed by Champollion, and assented to by M. Bunsen,[32] seems to me improbable from the genealogy: סרך is probably a false reading, for it differs considerably from *Osorchon*, and may be a mistake for סבך, *Sebak*. I consider that it has been formed upon the Assyrian name which we have in the Hellenised form of *Sargon*. Nor would the prefixed syllable *Ua* or *Va* militate against such a supposition; as it appears in a cognate language to the Assyrian, in names which the Greeks have transcribed with the *K*, as *Uçrava* for *Κῦρος* or Cyrus, *Uvarsamija* for *Χορασμία* or Chorasmia,

[28] Cf. Rosellini, M. tomo ii. VII. 138. M. R. No. CXLIX. 2, tomo iv. p. 169, reads *Osorkon*.

[29] Rosellini, *loc. cit.* 135, 137.

[30] Manetho, u. die Hundsternperiode, s. 320.

[31] Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, Buch. III. s. 133.

[32] Cf. Boeckh and Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

and *Uwaksatara* for *Κυαξάρης* or Cyaxares.[34] The same observation as to foreign origin applies to the queen *Lekamat* or *Rekamat*, with which I am only acquainted through the genealogical table given by Lepsius.[35] This also ends with the Semitic ת, and resembles a form of the Hebrew רקמות, *Rikamut* (Ps. XLV. 13)—*vestis acu picta*,—a Semitic word which, considering the renown of the Assyrian looms, might have easily been conferred on an Assyrian female. According to the genealogy already cited, the son of Osorchon II. was named Nim-rot,[36] which is also the name of the son of Takelothis II. As the Egyptians had no *D*, but employed the same homophone of the *T* to express this sound in foreign names, this name is unequivocally the Assyrian Nimroud, נִמְרֹד, the *Νεβρώδης* of the Septuagint, a word now known to signify 'lord' in the Assyrian, and unlikely to have been introduced into an Egyptian dynasty, except through intermarriage with an Assyrian house. The son of Sheshank II. was Takiluta,[37] according to the syllabic, and TKLT, following the alphabetic value of the symbols. The Greek transcription of this name is *Τακέλοθις*,[38] both in the version of Africanus and in Eusebius: in the Laterculus[39] we have *Τακαλῶφις*, evidently a *σφάλμα* of the scribe for *Τακαλῶθις*. This name appears a second time in the dynasty, when it is written .[40]

[34] Oppert, Revue Archéologique, Dec. 1847, p. 633.
[35] Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, Buch III. s. 133.
[36] Rosellini, M. St. tomo ii. VII. 137 b.
[37] Idem, M. St. tomo iv. 169, *Takelot*.
[38] Bunsen, *loc. cit.* s. 34–35. Boeckh, *loc. cit.* s. 314.
[39] Ibid. s. 80. [40] Rosellini, M. St. tomo ii. VII. 137 a.

In its elements it is as purely phonetic, and unreferable to Egyptian roots, as the cartouches of Ptolemy or Cæsar. Bearing in mind the Assyrian appellation Nimrud, introduced at this period, it appears highly probable that this monarch was named in honour of the family of his Aramæan mother. In fact, this name may conceal the Assyrian word Tiglath or Diglath, the old name of the Tigris, the Hebrew דגלא, *Digla*, or דקל; for the ה in Hiddekel may, after all, be only a preformant, and the form Hiddekel may only differ from Tigris in the same inverse manner as *Εὐφράτης* from פרת. Traces of the final ת in the name are found in Josephus, who states *Τίγρης δὲ Διγλὰθ*, and in the reading Diglito of Pliny,[41] which approach nearer the Chaldee form. The existence of a similar name in the 2nd or Chaldæan dynasty is proved from that of תגלת,[42] Tiglath, or תלגת, Tilgath (Pileser),[43] as the name is written in the corresponding passages, avowedly not of Hebrew etymology.[44] To either of these forms of Diglath or Tiglath, that of Takiluta or Takeloth is equally near; for while the last sign is by preference, on account of its syllabic power *ta*, employed to transcribe the Hebrew ת and Aramaic ת *ta*,[45] the ⊃ is in similar instances employed for the *d* or soft *t*. I consequently recognize in Takelothis, the Aramæan Tiglath introduced into an Egyptian dynasty. The names of some of the queens of this line appear also to be of foregin origin: thus the queen [46] Karu-ma-ma, Kar-

[41] H. N. vi. 27. [42] 2 Kings xvi. 7. [43] 1 Chron. v. 26.

[44] Rosenmüller, Bibl. Geogr. p. 57, who cites the authorities above given for this word.

[45] I conclude the existence of this syllable from the transcriptions.

[46] Rosellini, M. St. tomo ii. 137 b.

mam or Kalmim, 'daughter of the prince Nimroud,' is by no means an Egyptian name, although I do not assert that it is Assyrian. She was the wife of Takelothis I.[47] According to the Chevalier Lepsius, the wife of Takelothis II. bears the name of Tatepor.[48] Unfortunately the cartouche of this queen is not published, but an inspection of its transcription will show that it is not Egyptian. As the *r* and *l* are expressed by the same characters in the hieroglyphics, it seems probable that the final part of this word is the Assyrian *P'hul*, which enters into the composition of the names of some princes of the Chaldæan line. Nor will this conjecture appear too hazardous when it is remembered that their son is the prince *Nimroud*.

I have entered into this philological detail because I think it demonstrates, by a new route, an alliance between the Assyrian and Egyptian courts, and shows that at the period connections of blood must have existed between the two royal houses. The little that is possessed of this period, either from good historical sources or from monumental remains, leaves much to be desired. The march of Sheshank to Jerusalem, the pillage of the temple, and subsequent ruin of the Egyptians when Nechao was defeated at Carchemish, point to political relations strengthened and then interrupted by the rising of new dynasties. The indications of alliance point to a probable epoch, viz. that of the tenth century B. C., for the assignment of such works of art found at Nineveh, executed in Egyptian style, and in imitation of Egyptian pantheism and royalty. They cannot be later than the seventh century, when Nineveh fell (B.C. 605), and was utterly destroyed by the Medes. Yet even then

[47] Bunsen, Aeg. Stell. s. 133. [48] Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

the monarchs of Egypt appear to have contracted an alliance with the Chaldæan dynasty, then rising into power in Central Asia,—a relationship indicated by the Egyptian name Nitocris, found both in Egypt and at Babylon, and found catalogued in one of the earliest dynasties. It is highly probable that at this period Egyptian artists were sent to embellish "the ivory palaces fragrant with myrrh, aloes, and cassia," in the same manner as the Phœnician workmen aided in the building and the temple of Solomon, and as themselves subsequently made alabaster vases[49] for their Persian rulers, inscribed with their names in hieroglyphics, and the thr[illegible] writings. Conquest, it is true, [illegible] hosts of foreign artificers at the chariot-wheels of the victors, as in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyses, who transferred the workmen [illegible] red nations to their capitals; but th[illegible] *ental* proof that Egypt was overrun by the Assyrians; and the invasions recorded by the Chaldæan and Greek historians were either unsuccessful, or ended in a temporary occupation of the Delta, and perhaps the appointment of tributary princes.

The early conquests of the Assyrians in India had made them familiar with the products of that country, —its valuable metals, precious stones, ivory, spices, wools, and its rare gums and woods. Egypt, at a

[49] For the Paris vase, cf. Caylus, Rec. Antiq. tom. v. Pl. xxx.; and for that at Venice, Lit. Gaz. 1844; Revue Arch. 1844, p. 445. The Persians much admired this material, which was found in the *περὶ Θήβας*. A finer quality, like ivory, called the *χερνίτης*, was used for the coffin of Darius, *καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὅμοιος ὁ χερνίτης καλούμενος· ἐν ᾗ πνέλῳ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον κεῖσθαι.*—Theophr. de Lap. c. 15.

very early period of her history, was acquainted with the adaptation of valuable materials in embellishment. In the Egyptian collections of the Louvre is a small ivory box,[50] the cover of which is inscribed with the prænomen *Nefer-ka-re*, or Nepercheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth.[51] On a tablet in the same collection, dated in the reign of *Mentuhept*,[52]—a king found on the Karnak tablet, placed before the kings of the XII., and one of the great ancestors of the XIX. dynasty,—his statue being carried in their processions along with that of Menes,[53]—probably the Mentesouphis of Eratosthenes, and placed by M. Bunsen as a king of the sixth line,—an object is mentioned, whose "*arms are to be made of precious stones, silver and gold, and the two hinder parts of ivory and ebony.*" In the time of Thothmes III., ivory[54] was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either in "*boats laden with ivory and ebony*" from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. In a tomb at Thebes,[55] executed about the XVIII. or XIX. dynasty, mention is made of a statue composed of "*ebony and ivory, with a collar of gold.*" The celebrated car at Florence has its linch-pins tipped with ivory.[56] In the principal museums of Europe are

[50] Rosellini, M. St. tom. iii. Pt. I. p. 15.

[51] Aegyptens Stelle, Buch. III. Taf. II.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Rosellini, *loc. cit.*

[54] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. new series, p. 317, *et seq.*

[55] Champollion, Monumens Egyptiens, fo. Par. 1846. Texte, p. 500. The word *habnir* in the Gram. Egypt. p. 77, taken from this passage, is an error from *habni*, 'ebony,' *er* 'and having' *uskh* 'a collar' *en* 'of' *neb* 'gold.'

[56] I give here an extract from a letter addressed to me by the

various objects, either made entirely of ivory, such as figures, spoons, astragali, bracelets, scribes' palettes, circular bands or collars, hair-pins,[57] &c.; or else inlaid with this material, such as chairs, boxes, handles of daggers, sticks, and other objects of the same kind. Most of these objects are antecedent to the domination of the Persians; some are undoubtedly as early as the XVIII. dynasty. Although the accounts of Semiramis are too legendary to be received otherwise than as the confusion of the national traditions of Assyrian conquests in general, yet the present remains demonstrate that they are based on the actual state of art, amongst the Assyrians, at the time when they were written. Thus, in the *Periegesis* of Dionysius she is described as erecting a temple to the god Belus, decorated with gold, silver, and ivory—*χρυσῷ, τῇδ' ἐλέφαντι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκήσασα*,[58] which has been thus paraphrased by Rufus Festus Avienus:[59]

> "Stat maxima Beli
> Aula quoque argento, domus Indo dente nitescit,
> Aurum tecta operit, sola late contigit aurum."

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learned Professor Migliarini, of Florence. "Voici un petit extrait de mon catalogue: Fraxinus excelsior (*common ash*), quercus ilex (*evergreen oak*), cortex betulæ albæ (*bark of the common birch*), carpinus orientalis (*oriental horn-bean*), et des ornemens en os fossiles: tous ceux-ci sont pour la construction du char Scythe." The birch-bark is so large that it could not have come from a more southern latitude than Mount Ararat. The ivory is probably fossilized through age; for the fragments from Nineveh were so deprived of their albumen as to be indistinguishable from fossil ivory found in alluvial deposits, while it is evident from their sculptures they must have been recent when executed. By the care of Professor Owen and the Dean of Westminster they have been subjected to a process by which they have regained much of their pristine condition.

[57] See note 9.

[58] V. 1008. Cf. Priscian.

[59] Perieg. v. 930, *et seq.* Cf. also the Scholiast to Dionysius, *loc. cit.*, and Eustathius *ad eund.*

In the heroic ages of Greece, ivory, plain[60] or stained with scarlet,[61] was employed for several purposes; as, for horse trappings, for the inlaying of bedsteads,[62] for the handles of keys,[63] the studs or ornaments of shields;[64] also for the panellings of doors, as in Penelope's description of those through which the dreams proceed from Hades.[65] The Greeks had probably become acquainted with this material through the Phœnicians, who, as early as the tenth century B. C., had made Solomon's throne of ivory, plated with gold in parts, and decorated at the sides with lions; also parts of galleys, ornamented with ivory; and had exported smaller objects of this material by commerce to Greece. Only a little later, Ahab had an *ivory* house. This taste the Phœnicians must have derived from Egypt and Assyria, where the arts were developed at an earlier period, and whence they obtained their supplies of this material. The earliest known work in this style among the Greeks (called by them toreutic) is the chest of Cypselus, which was a rectangular or oval box of cedar, inlaid with figures of ivory and gold, much in the manner of these Assyrian ivories, and which cannot be earlier than the XXX. Olympiad (660 B.C.).[66] In the L. Olympiad (B.C. 580), Dipœnos and Scyllis executed ivory statues of the Dioscuri females and children at Sicyon, Argos, and Ambracia; the material continuing to be extensively

[60] Il. v. 583.

[61] Il. IV. 141. Schol. *ad eund.* The Homeric passage is imitated, Ovid Met. IV. 332. See Letronne, Lettres d'un Antiquaire à un Artiste, Appendice, 8vo, Par. 1838, p. 113.

[62] Odyss. XXIII. 200.

[63] XXI. 7.

[64] Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 141, 142.

[65] Odyss. XIX. 562–4.

[66] Cf. Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst, s. 37, c. LVII. 2.

employed by the *τορευταὶ*, or inlayers. In the LV. Olympiad, Endoos[67] of Athens had carved an ivory statue at Tegea. From this date commenced the making of chryselephantine statues with a cone of wood, veneered, and inlaid with gold and ivory, by Dorycleides, Theocles, Medon, and Menæchmus,—an art which attained its highest developement under Phidias,[68] and which continued till the time of the Romans, who inlaid their walls, ceilings, and articles of furniture[69] with this material,[70]—a taste derived from the more luxurious modes of decorating their houses used by the Phœnicians and Assyrians.

The other panel of the box, which corresponded to that just described, is unfortunately exceedingly mutilated. Part of the divinity seated on the left hand only remains, and the lower half of the cartouche B. This contains three symbols, the undulating line of which, the lower portion, is just visible;—N, another

[67] Müller, Handbuch, s. 49, c. LXX. 2. Welcker, Kunstblatt, st. 39.

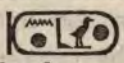
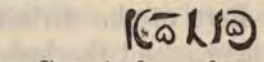
[68] Cf. Plutarch in Pericle, c. 12. Letronne, Lettres, &c. p. 470, reads *βαφεῖς χρυσοῦ, μαλακτῆρες ἐλέφαντος*, 'gilders and ivory softeners.' Müller, Handbuch, s. 98. n. 1, *μαλακτῆρες χρυσοῦ, βαφεῖς ἐλέφαντος*, 'gilders,' or rather 'gold beaters and ivory stainers.' Cf. the animated passage of the description of Lucian; and the Inscription (Boeckh Corp. Inscr. No. 150, line 16), *Παλλάδιον ἐλεφάντινον περίχρυσον*, 'a statue of Pallas, with gold accessories,' probably a copy of that of Phidias; also *Εἰρήνη ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος*, 'an ivory figure of Peace, gilded;' all cited by Letronne, Sup. p. 113.

[69] Pliny, N. H. XVI. 43, 84, nec satis: cœpere tingi animalium cornua, dentes secari, lignumque *ebore* distingui, mox operiri. Also Dio Chrysostomus: *Ἐτὶ δὲ [τῶν Ῥωμαίων] ἐν οἰκιῶν ὀροφαῖς καὶ τοίχοις, καὶ ἐδάφει, τὰ μὲν χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ λίθοις, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντι ποικιλλόντων, τὰ δὲ αὖ τοίχων γλυφαῖς.*

[70] See also, for some account of these cartouches, my letter to M. Letronne, 'Revue Archéologique,' 8vo, Paris, 1848, p. 770, and M. Letronne's observations on the same, p. 771; also Gerhard, Archäologische Zeitung; Beilage, No. 5, Marz. 1848, s. 70*.

symbol, resembling that used to express the title of priest and monarch, or else intended for the vase on its stand, used for the syllable TA. The last is a divinity, uncertain whether male or female, seated, and holding a lotus sceptre. The whole read NTA, or NATH, as the end of some Assyrian name. On another fragment, and at the corner of a panel, are the duckling and water line, not in a cartouche, reading UN, perhaps the name of an Assyrian deity.

I am aware of the names of two Egyptian kings which correspond in a remarkable degree with that before us. They occur in column IX., lines 8 and 12, of the Chevalier Lepsius's arrangement of the Hieratical Canon of Turin.[71] One is RA-UBN—

Sol splendens—'the shining Sun:' the other, which is on the fragment marked 99, is only part of a cartouche, a prænomen into the composition of which the word *ubn*, or 'shine,' enters; but there are some important differences. In the first name the solar disk appears as in all Egyptian prænomens, while in the Assyrian cartouche there is no such disk: the word *ubn* in the second, line 12, is only part of a prænomen, and it is impossible to say what preceded it. Had it been a repetition of the prænomen, line 12, it would, for the sake of distinction, have been accompanied by the king's name: such, at least, is the rule of the papyrus in other instances. The whole cartouche was probably Ra-em-ubn, or Ra-neb-ubn, Ra-tet-ubn, &c. But supposing the Assyrian cartouche to be identical with that in line 8, there are then the following difficulties: the monarchs of

[71] Auswahl, Taf. v.

this dynasty are anterior to the XVIII., and were ephemeral rulers, whose reigns varied from a few months to only four years, showing either an epoch of political confusion, or a series of reigns improperly recorded. Now the Nimroud cartouche can hardly be referred to so early a period, although the Hykshos invasion is considered by some to be represented by this part of the canon. These kings cannot be connected with the Shepherds. There is one period which must not be omitted in the consideration of these Assyrian cartouches,—that of the worship of the *Aten*, or sun's disk, introduced during the XVIII. dynasty; but there is no internal evidence that the kings of this dynasty were Assyrians.

Portion of a porcelain box, in Assyrian style, bearing the prænomen of Amasis II. XXVI. dynasty.

## V.—DESCRIPTION OF A GREEK MANUSCRIPT FOUND AT THEBES.

BY A. C. HARRIS, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 13, 1848.)

WHILE inquiring at Thebes, last winter, for Tahidic fragments, some broken Greek papyri were shown to me for sale, and I purchased them.

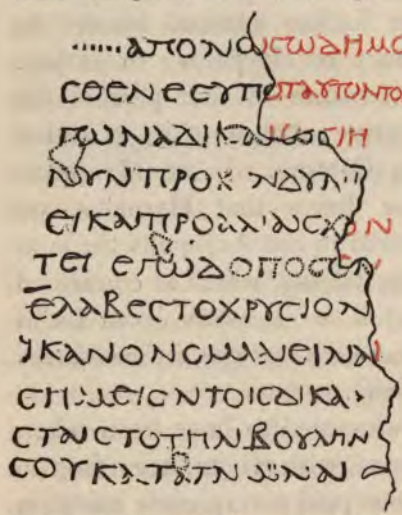
One of these is remarkable, and will prove to be of great interest to the lovers of classical literature. In its perfect state it was one roll of paper (papyrus), but the writing is divided into pages, with a margin separating them of $\frac{7}{10}$ of an inch. An entire page is of the length of $6\frac{3}{10}$ inches, and of a breadth of $1\frac{8}{10}$, and contains 27 or 28 lines, each line of 15 or 16 letters. In its present state it consists of thirty-two pieces,—pages entire, parts of pages, and small fragments; and I judge that I have the matter contained in about twenty-five pages, but not continuous.

Enough of this document has been translated to ascertain the nature of it, and no more. Great critical knowledge will be required to put the fragments together, and determine the sequence of the discourse, to supply letters that are missing or illegible, and to correct the errors of the copyist, some of which are conspicuous.

From the cursory examination made, it results that we have before us the oration of an accuser (Hyperides?), pronounced before the Dicasts of Athens against Demosthenes, for having suffered himself to be corrupted by the money of Harpalus; or rather, being charged with the treasure of that person, for having failed to give a true account of it, as stated in the Lives of the Ten Orators. It would appear from the history of the times that Harpalus, on arriving at Athens, deposited in the Acropolis the sum of seven hundred and fifty talents, which is confirmed by our manuscript: *αιτου]σα τον Ἁρπαλον ὁποσα ειη τα χρηματα τα ανοισθησομενα εις την Ακροπολιν, ὁ δ' απεκρινατο ὁτι ἑπτα[κοσιοι και πεντηκοντα]*.

Part of this money is supposed to have been taken by or given to Demosthenes, with whom, according to the papyrus, Harpalus once paid a very early morning visit to the treasure, under pretence of counting it. In spite, however, of the famous story of the cup and the twenty talents, we have found no direct evidence as yet that the great orator actually received a bribe. On the contrary, Hyperides is compelled, as far as we can judge from these fragments, to go into very elaborate calculations to prove that the money is missing. This done, he makes an artful appeal to the judges; impressing upon them the necessity of careful examination, warning them against the superior eloquence of his adversary, and conjuring them not, out of favouritism to an individual, to suffer all the decrees which had been passed with reference to the property of Harpalus to be trampled on. These decrees, he observes, were general; no one had a right to claim exemption from their rigorous operation: every one who had taken any portion of the money was liable.

He now apostrophizes the defendant, now addresses himself to the judges; and, in a rhetorical passage, thus brings home his charge.



"Will you justify yourself without difficulty, O Demosthenes, in this contest? (Now he raises his voice and brazens it out) — It is my belief that the fact of your taking the money will be a sufficient reason for the judges to decide the cause against you."

The above extract being a fac-simile of the original, though wanting something of its neatness, will serve to show the character in which the discourse is written; and the red letters supplied will give an idea of the work which remains for the critic to perform.

The existing records of this period will, no doubt, throw considerable light on several passages in the papyrus, in which also some interesting illustrations of history may be found. Hyperides pronounced his oration at a critical moment. The triumphant return of Alexander from his Indian wars, against the expectation of his own generals, must have roused and alarmed the free Greeks, and Demosthenes no less than the rest. The very first act of Alexander was to make his presence felt by giving a law to all Greece. He dispatched Nicanor to be present at the opening of the 114th Olympiad, and "to proclaim by

herald,—that all exiles (except robbers of temples and murderers) should return to their several countries."

The Demus was displeased. The situation of Demosthenes was critical. The Athenian state was sinking. Orations in the spirit of former times were dangerous. Alexander had before been offended with them, and, on the destruction of Thebes, had "sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus."

The advice of Demosthenes, on the arrival of Harpalus, was consistent with his position, and with the interests of the Athenians. "He at first counselled them to send him immediately away, and to be particularly careful not again to involve the city in a war without just or necessary cause." But this, the Athenian people may have thought, was not advice to come from one who had been a declaimer of Philippics, unless he had taken the money of Alexander, as he took the money of Harpalus. The following passage in the oration, if it applies to Demosthenes,—but I am not certain that it does so,—implies a direct charge of treason.

*προς τ[η]ν ελπιδα προσετ[α]σεν ὡστε μηδενα προαισθεσθαι τα δ' εν Πελοποννησῳ και τῃ αλλῃ Ἑλλαδι οὑτως εχοντα κατελαβεν ὑπο της αφιξεως της Νικανορος και των επιταγματων ὧν ἡκεν φερων παρ' Αλεξανδρου, περι τε των φυγαδων και περι τουτους κοινους συλλογους Αχαιων [δ]ε και Αρκα[δω]ν.*

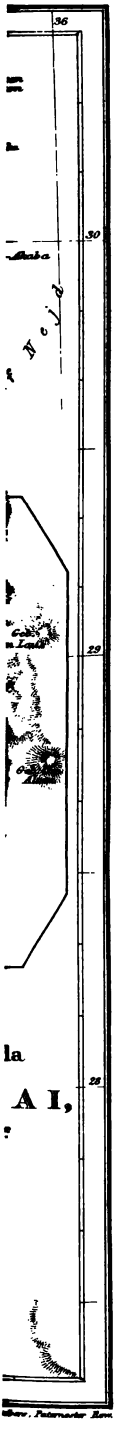
Diodorus Siculus mentions the proclamation respecting the exiles twice over, once in book XVII. c. 10, and again in book XVIII. c. 1; but this last reference is for the purpose of stating the discontent which the proclamation occasioned, and the proceedings of the Athenians when they supposed the Mace-

donian power to be shaken by the death of Alexander; for "when a messenger came from Babylon, who was an eye-witness of his death, the people of Athens declared open war, and sent part of the money left by Harpalus, with a great number of arms, to Leosthenes."

Although Hyperides promises, in his proem, to abstain from unnecessary digression, to keep strictly to his main accusation, and with great show of sincerity prays the gods to assist him, and bring the cause to an issue consonant with justice, he yet takes care to aggravate the case against his brother orator by minor charges; as, that he allowed improper persons to enjoy the privileges of citizenship, and that he dishonoured the Theorikon by pursuing a claim for five drachmæ, owing at the same time a talent in that court. He even makes it a charge that Demosthenes behaved with great rudeness to Aristomachus, the Epistates of the Academy, who was carrying a spadeful of earth from the Palæstra to his own garden, which was close by.

A. C. HARRIS.

Rosetta, 11th Sept. 1847.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# VI.—REMARKS AND ADDITIONAL VIEWS ON DR. LEPSIUS'S PROOFS THAT MOUNT SERBAL IS THE TRUE MOUNT SINAI;—ON THE WILDERNESS OF SIN;—ON THE MANNA OF THE ISRAELITES;—AND ON THE SINAIC INSCRIPTIONS.

WITH A MAP.

BY JOHN HOGG, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c.

(Read May 13, 1847, and Jan. 27, 1848.)

I HAVE lately read with pleasure and satisfaction the recently published 'Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai, by Professor R. Lepsius,'[1] translated by C. H. Cottrell, M. A.; and I consider that the learned Prussian traveller has brought forward some very able arguments, chiefly deduced from the natural appearance of the country in connection with the narrative of Holy Writ, to prove that the noble and lofty Mount Serbal is the Mount Sinai, which was sanctified by the descent of the Lord God upon it, and whereon He delivered to Moses the Tables of the Law and the Holy Commandments.

Having long entertained considerable doubts as to which mountain in the Sinaic Peninsula ought properly to be regarded as Mount Horeb, I have written

[1] A French translation of Professor Lepsius's Tour, by M. Pergameni, is published at p. 345–392 of the 'Bulletin de la Société de Géographie,' tom. vii. No. 42. Juin. Paris, 1847. A neat map is added, on scales reduced from the plans of Lepsius.

a few observations on that interesting question; on the Sinaic district,—especially the Wilderness of Sin; on the Manna of the Israelites, and on the very remarkable Inscriptions which are met with in the vicinity.

An abstract of these was published anonymously in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for March, 1847, under the title of 'Mount Serbal the true Sinai;' and as I have since had the opportunity of consulting some other works on those subjects, I now beg to present to the Royal Society of Literature my remarks, but greatly enlarged with additional views, together with a copy of Professor Lepsius's 'Tour,' in order to invite their attention to his able exposition of a highly important portion of Scriptural Topography.

The enterprising Burckhardt believes he was the *first* European traveller who visited the Serbal.[2] On the 1st of June, 1816, he reached the top of the easternmost peak of this mountain, not by the usual path, but by a more difficult and precipitous ascent: he discovered many of the ancient *inscriptions* in the strange characters cut on the smooth surface of the granite rocks just below that extreme summit, and others upon the steep sides of the mountain at different altitudes; he also noticed *steps* regularly formed with large loose stones, as well as others cut in the rock with considerable labour, for the more easy ascent, in many places where he came upon the regular path; and he therefore became convinced that those inscriptions were the work of pilgrims, and that at an early period this mountain had been considered as the *true* Sinai, and had been the principal place of pilgrimage in the Peninsula. Rüppell, some years afterwards (1831), ascended the second peak

[2] 'Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,' p. 609. London, 1822.

from the west: on that summit he, likewise, "found inscriptions in the usual unknown character."[3] These circumstances tend, I imagine, most strongly in favour of the Serbal being the "Mount of God;" for, why should those numerous *inscriptions* have been so carefully executed, and why those *steps* cut and formed with so much skill and pains, unless, in fact, those who made them, or who caused them to be made, had accounted the Mountain itself sacred ground?—while, on the contrary, upon the mountains now called Gebel Mousa and Gebel Katherin,—one of which is at the present day supposed, chiefly from more modern and monkish tradition, to be Mount Horeb, or Mount Sinai,—there exist *none* of the like curious inscriptions,[4] nor *any such* ancient path or footway made with equal expense and toil, and still in similarly good preservation.[5]

These *inscriptions* and *steps* strike me as being of great value in showing that Mount Serbal had

[3] See Dr. Edward Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' p. 174, vol. i. London, 1841.

[4] Robinson, in confirmation, states that the inscriptions "are found neither on Jebel Mûsa, nor on the present Horeb, nor on St. Catharine, nor in the valley of the convent; while on Serbâl they are seen on its very summits."—Vol. i. p. 188.

[5] Although on the lower portion of Gebel Mousa there still exist some steps "not hewn, or cut in the rock, as is said by Burckhardt," (Robinson, vol. i. p. 153,) which lead up the mountain *a part* of the way, yet they are now much ruined, not having been repaired for a long time. Dr. Robinson says (p. 150), "it is usually reported that there were once regular steps all the way to the summit; but this, like so many other stories, would seem to be only an exaggeration of travellers. At least, every appearance at present testifies to the contrary." He also adds, that in his ascent of Gebel Katherin, he "could not discover the slightest trace that any path had ever existed with steps or laid stones."—P. 161.

been, at a most early age, used as a place of *holy resort;* and so they compel me to dissent from the opinion of Dr. Lepsius, that "if the *inscriptions* had any *reference to Sinai*, it could be only *indirectly*." Likewise, the *caverns* mentioned by Burckhardt,[6] on whose sides are seen many similar inscriptions, may very possibly have been used for some devotional purposes in the earliest times, by pilgrims, or by those devotees[7] who ascended that mountain; or, indeed, by the numerous hermits, who, according to Ammonius, dwelt in the fourth century upon the base of Mount Sinai.

The first hermit of whom we have any knowledge was Silvanus (about A.D. 365), who is called "Abbé du Mont Sinai" by Tillemont.[8] Since I have not

[6] 'Syria,' p. 608.

[7] Robinson (p. 180) observes,—"Dionysius of Alexandria, about A.D. 250, mentions that these mountains" (of Sinai) "were the refuge of Egyptian Christians in times of persecution; where they were sometimes seized as slaves by the Saracens or Arabs:"—and he refers in the note to Eusebius, lib. VI. cap. 42. Now I find on reading the passage in Eusebius, that the original Greek does *not* specify the mountain as *Sinai*, but only as "the *Arabian Mount;*" the passage is this: Πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν"—(Eusebii Eccles. Hist. vol. i. lib. VI. cap. 42, p. 308, edit. Reading, Cantab. 1720); and some annotators hold this mountain to be that which Ptolemy and others call *Troicus*. I think, however, Mount Sinai in Arabia is here intended, and is termed *par excellence* "the Arabian Mountain," because it seems the most likely mount to which persecuted Christians would retire. But it is slso possible that the range called *Araba*, or in Arabic *Gebel Arabah*, and in Hebrew ערבה, may be meant by τὸ Ἀράβιον, or Ἀραβικὸν, Ὄρος. It is situated near the middle of the eastern coast of the Gulf of Suez; and, according to Lepsius, "the Araba mountains run to the southward from Burdés down to the sea."—P. 59.

[8] 'Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. Eccles. des VI. prem. Siècles,' par M. Lenain de Tillemont, tom. X. p. 448. Par. 1705.

noticed any description by which we can judge of the position of that mountain, its identity with the Serbal is just as probable as with the mountain named at this day Gebel Mousa, or Horeb; although, from another passage in the work of the same writer, I think, a little light may be thrown on the situation of the mountain *then* termed Mount Sinai. Tillemont heads his chapter (in p. 573, vol. vii.) thus,—'the holy anchorites, &c., and others, killed by the barbarians, in the solitudes of Sinai and Raithu;' and at p. 575 it is expressly said, in his narrative abstracted from Ammonius,[9] that Raithu, or, as Cosmas Indopleustes writes it, '*Raïθοῦ*, was distant *two days' journey* from Sinai, or from the convent on Mount Sinai. Robinson, referring to Rüppell's 'Reisen in Nubien,' p. 181, remarks (in note 3, p. 182, vol. i.) that "the place occupied by the convent near Tûr," on the Gulf of Suez, "is still called Raithu by the Greeks."[10] As, however, it appears that Lieut. Wellsted, who passed, in 1836, through the Wadi Hebron directly from Tur to the present convent on the modern Mount Sinai, occupied *three days* on that journey, the distance from a convent placed on the side of Mount Serbal

[9] The "Tract of Ammonius is found in the work of Combefis, 'Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti Triumphi.' Paris, 1660." (Note 3, p. 181, vol. i. Robinson, 'Bibl. Res.')—I have not been able to see a copy of it, but only the abstract given in Tillemont, vol. vii. p. 573.

[10] *Tor* or *tur*, in Hebrew תור, signifies a *turtle*-dove (*turtur*), which is so named from the *noise*, or *cooing*, that the bird makes. See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, 8th edit. p. 755, Lond. 1823. And I take the word *Raithu*, 'Ραϊθοῦ, to be derived from *ῥάθαγος*, *a noise* (*strepitus*) strictly of *water*, or of 'the *murmuring* surge;' for, from *ῥάθαγος* comes *ῥάθαγοῦ*, and then the abbreviated *ῥάθοῦ*. The etymology of both words being the same, the identity of *Tur* and *Raithu* is thus corroborated.

would evidently be only *two days' journey* from Tur, and therefore better corresponding with the statement of Ammonius. Then, as to the massacres of the monks and devotees by some of the Arab tribes, or Saracens, several took place towards the end of the fourth century. Tillemont, in his account abstracted from Ammonius's work, says,—The Saracens, on the 28th of December, in the year 373 of our era, attacked the hermits of the holy mountain (Sinai), and killed *thirty-eight* of them. Other slaughters are mentioned as having occurred chiefly in the two succeeding centuries. One indeed is recorded about the commencement of the fifth century, in the time of St. Nilus, who, being an eye-witness of the event, has given a full description of it in his work entitled 'Narrative of the Monastic Hermit Nilus, touching the Massacre of the Monks in Mount Sinai,' &c. *Νείλου Μονάζοντος Ἐρημίτου διηγήματα, εἰς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὄρει Σινᾷ Μοναχῶν, κ. τ. λ.*[11] And I may observe that the frequent mention of Pharan,[12] in connection with the Sinai spoken of in those Memoirs, as well as the assistance which the Pharanitæ gave to the poor anchorites and monks, renders it exceedingly probable that the *then holy* mountain was in fact Mount Serbal.

[11] *Vide* 'Nili Opera Quædam;' edit. Possinus, Paris, 1639.

[12] Nilus, with a few of the monks, after that massacre, arrived safely in the city of Pharan. (See note 41 *infra*.) I have afterwards (p. 196) considered it likely that the place named *Bethrambe* by Nilus was that which Burckhardt notices under the Arabic term of '*Deir Sigillye*,' on the S. E. of Mount Serbal, and which he says (p. 610) is distant *four or five hours* from Faran. Now it is much more probable that these monks might have been able to escape from the savage Arabs for a distance of about *nine* miles, in an inhabited country, than that they could have done so for so great a distance as *thirty-four* miles, through a wild and Alpine district,—the length of the journey from the present Mount Sinai to Pharan.

Indeed, Cosmas Indopleustes expressly writes—"Moses . . . . . proceeds . . . . . unto Mount Horeb, which is in Mount Sinai, that is distant *about six miles from Pharan*" . . . . . *Πορευέται* . . . . . *ὁ Μωϋσῆς* . . . . *εἰς Χωρὴβ τὸ ὄρος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ Σιναΐῳ, ἐγγὺς ὄντι τῆς Φαρὰν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ.* But, since this passage is very important, in order to render it more clear, I would supply the words which are understood, in this manner: *Πορευέται* . . . . . *ὁ Μωϋσῆς* . . . . . *εἰς Χωρὴβ τὸ ὄρος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ Σιναΐῳ ὄρει,*[13] *ἐγγὺς ὄντι τῆς πόλεως Φαρὰν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ,*—and which I translate, more literally, thus: . . . . . 'Moses . . . . . proceeds . . . . . unto Mount Horeb, which is in the *Sinaic mountain, that being near to the city of Pharan by about six miles.*' Now this distance from Pharan is singularly correct as relates to Mount Serbal; but it is most incorrect as regards the *present* supposed Mount Sinai; and I conceive that this passage is to be considered of greater value, as being the statement of one who had visited in his own person the localities here named; for Cosmas, in a subsequent passage,[14] distinctly informs us that he had *journeyed on foot* to those places in the *Wilderness of Mount Sinai, wherein* the remarkable *inscriptions occur,*—*ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πεζεύσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ.* At this day, the unknown writings on the rocks still exist in great numbers in the Wadi Mukatteb, which signifies the *Written Valley*, and in some other valleys near Faran, particularly in Wadi Alegat, at the very

[13] No other word than *ὄρει* can be here supplied *with certainty;* because, in another passage afterwards cited (*infra*, p. 230), Cosmas has, *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναΐου ὄρους,* 'in the wilderness of Mount Sinai.' Josephus also writes, *τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος.*

[14] *Vide infra*, p. 230.

foot of Mount Serbal; and I apprehend that no doubt can be fairly suggested, either about the present ruins of Faran being any other than those of the ancient city of Pharan,[15] or about Cosmas having actually reached that city in his pedestrian travels through the Peninsula of Sinai. On an examination of Kiepert's map, published in Dr. Robinson's 'Biblical Researches' (vol. i.), a scale of *Roman miles* is given, from which it will be seen that the distance from Faran to Mount Serbal is somewhat *more* than *five Roman miles*, thus well corresponding with Cosmas's '*about six* miles,' *ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ*. And, of course, the miles here meant could only be *Roman* miles, for at that time—in the beginning of the reign of Justinian—Egypt and the Sinaic Peninsula were under the dominion of the Romans; whereas the same scale gives from Faran to Gebel Mousa, in *a direct line*, twenty-three and a half Roman miles. This distance even, being *four times* that mentioned by Cosmas, owing to the Alpine nature of the country, is perfectly impracticable for every animal except a bird, whilst that by the usual valleys to the convent on the present Mount Sinai is near thirty-four[16] miles, or above *five times* the distance named by that ancient traveller. Again, from the Arabic Annals of Sa'íd Ebn Batrik (Eutychius), in the commencement of the tenth century after Christ, it is clearly evident that the chief reason of the Emperor Justinian's having built a convent (in the *thirtieth* year of his reign,[17]

[15] See *infra*, p. 204, and note 41; also additional note 3.

[16] See Lepsius's 'Tour,' p. 79.

[17] "An Arabic inscription over the gate" of the present convent, "in modern characters, says that Justinian built the convent in the *thirtieth* year of his reign, as a memorial of himself and his wife Theodora."—Burckhardt's 'Syria,' p. 545.

and about twenty-five years after Cosmas had visited that Peninsula) for the monks of (the *then called*) Mount Sinai, on their personal request, was,—that it might be a *fortress* to protect them from the frequent attacks of the Ishmaelites, or Arabs, or Saracens,[18] as they are indiscriminately named by the earlier writers.

The following is the narration, which, being of importance, I have translated from Professor Pocock's Latin interpretation of those Annals.[19] 'The monks of Mount Sinai . . . . . having journeyed to Justinian himself, complained that the Arabs (Ishmaelites) injured them, by devouring their provisions and pulling down their houses, and that, entering their cells, they plundered them of every thing, and rushing into their chapels, swallowed the Eucharist. Whereupon the

[18] The forefathers of the present Bedouins. The word *Saracens*, Σαρακηνοὶ, is used by Eusebius, and as early as the time of Dionysius of Alexandria. I am strongly inclined to derive it from "*Sarah*, the wife of Abraham," in Hebrew שָׂרָה, and, with Mr. Forster, to maintain "the scriptural origin of that name," rather than to deduce it from *Sahara*, which means a 'desert.'—See 'Historical Geography of Arabia,' vol. ii. pp. 8–29.

[19] "Monachi Montis Sinæ . . . . . ad ipsum (Justinianum) profecti, conquesti sunt Arabes Ismaelitas ipsis damnum inferre, penum ipsorum devorando, locaque diruendo, cellasque ingredientes quicquid ibi esset diripere, et in ecclesias irruentes Eucharistiam deglutire. Rogante ergò imperatore, quid vellent? Rogamus, inquiunt, O Rex, ut nobis *monasterium* extruas in quo *muniamur*. Neque enim ante illud tempus ullum fuit in Monte Sinâ Cœnobium in quo convenirent Monachi, sed in montibus ac vallibus circà Rubum, è quo Deus Mosen allocutus est, sparsim degerunt." . . . . . "Legato in mandatis dato . . . . . ut in Monte Sinâ monasterium ædificaret, idemque permuniret, adeo ut non alibi in toto mundo magis munitum reperiretur, adeoque firmatum daret, ut non alicubi locus aliquis esset undè vel monasterio vel monachis damnum inferendum metueretur."—Eutychii Annales, tom. ii. pag. 163. Edit. Oxon. 1658.

Emperor asking them, what they desired?—they say, we ask, O King, that you would build for us a *monastery* in which we may be *fortified*. For neither before that time was there any convent in Mount Sinai wherein the monks resorted together, but they dwelt here and there in the mountains and valleys about the Bush from which God spake unto Moses.' . . . . . 'The Legate received his orders . . . . . that he should erect a monastery in Mount Sinai, and should fortify the same strongly, so that in no other place in the whole world should there be found one better defended, and should make it so strong that nowhere could there be any spot from whence it could be feared that injury might be done either to the monastery, or to the monks.'

Procopius also, in his work 'on the Edifices of the Emperor Justinian,' thus writes:[20] 'In the country formerly called Arabia, but now the Third Palestine, . . . . . an abrupt and fearfully wild mountain hangs on high, somewhere near the Red Sea, by name Sinai. . . . . And in this Mount Sinai monks reside. . . . . There they say that Moses, formerly receiving the laws from God, bore them away. And near the foot of the mountain this Emperor

[20] Ἐν δὲ τῇ πάλαι μὲν Ἀραβίᾳ, νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνῃ Τρίτῃ καλουμένῃ . . . . . Ὄρος ἀπότομόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἀποκρέμαται ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καλουμένης θαλάσσης, Σινὰ ὄνομα . . . . . ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Σινᾷ ὄρει, μοναχοὶ ᾤκηνται. . . . . ἐνταῦθά ποτε τὸν Μωσέα φασὶ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους παραλαβόντα ἐξενεγκεῖν. Ἐς δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ὁ Βασιλεὺς οὗτος ᾠκοδομήσατο· φυλακτήριόν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀξιολογώτατον κατεστήσατο, ὡς μὴ ἐνθένδε Σαρακηνοὶ Βάρβαροι ἔχοιεν, ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐρήμου οὔσης, ᾗπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ἐσβάλλειν ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης χωρία.

Προκοπίου Καισαρέως περὶ τῶν τοῦ Δεσπότου Ἰουστινιανοῦ κτισμάτων.—Lib. v. cap. 8, tom. ii. Edit. Par. 1663.

erected a very strong fortress, and placed a renowned guard of soldiers in it, so that the Barbarian Saracens might not be able from thence,—the country being a desert, as I have before said,—to make secret incursions into the regions of Palestine.'

For these reasons I entertain very little or no doubt, that for a considerable period, until about the year 536 of the Christian era, the Serbal had been regarded as the *real* Sinai, and as such had been the chief resort of pilgrims; and that soon after, or about that period, owing most likely (among other causes) to the attacks and cruelties of the Barbarians, Arabs or Saracens, the numerous monks, hermits, anchorites, and pilgrims, were *compelled to leave*[21] their monasteries and cells on *that sacred mount*, and to establish themselves, for greater safety, amongst the higher, more desolate, and secluded mountains, distant, by the ordinary road or camel path, nearly thirty-four miles to the south-east, where Justinian erected for them, in A.D. 556, their present fortified monastery. To these lofty mountains the monks assigned the titles of *Horeb*, *Moses*, *St. Catherine*, &c., which continue

[21] The fact of the monks of Sinai having, at an early period, *migrated* on account of the *incursions of the Saracens*, is recorded in history. Baronius, relating the death of St. Paul the anchorite, in A.D. 956, says, that he had ascended to the summit of Mount Latrus, and dwelt there some years; that the place was not unknown, since St. Athanasius the anchorite had previously inhabited it in the time of the Emperor Michael the iconoclast (about A.D. 825); and that the *same* mountain had *already been illustrious* for the migration thither of the monks of Mount Sinai. These are his words: "Porrò et illustrem fuisse montem illum Latrum dictum habitatione monachorum Sinaitarum, qui ob Sarracenorum incursus inde profecti Dei monitu illuc migrarunt."—Annal. Eccl. tom. xvi. p. 95. VIII. edit. Lucæ, 1744.

to this day, as well as marked out the pretended sites of the burning bush, Elijah's cave, the rock in Horeb from which the waters flowed, and other objects of scriptural interest.

A few years after this time, Antoninus Martyr saw these localities, and described them in his Itinerary. According to De Laborde, "Antoninus, in the year 560, visited Sinai; he found three abbots in a *convent*, which had *already* been constructed there; and on the summit of the mountain he observed the *chapel*, of which *remains are still to be seen.*" [22]

That such is the correct history will, I think, appear from the following accounts:

In the translation before given from Eutychius's Annals, it is thus stated: "*neque* enim *ante* illud tempus *ullum fuit in Monte Sinâ cœnobium in quo convenirent monachi*, sed in montibus ac vallibus . . . . . sparsim degerunt." 'For *neither before that time* (the journey of the monks to Justinian, requesting him to build them a monastery,) *was there any convent in Mount Sinai wherein the monks resorted together*, but they dwelt here and there in the mountains and valleys.'

But Tillemont, in his narrative abstracted from Ammonius, describing the massacre of the monks on Mount Sinai by the Saracens, December 28th, A.D.

[22] See the English edition of M. Léon de Laborde's 'Journey through Arabia Petræa,' p. 314, Lond. 1836. That author has assigned 560 as the year when Antoninus was at the present convent of Mount Sinai. This is somewhat doubtful; but the incident appears to me to have occurred a little later,—probably between A.D. 560 and 570. For the descriptions of the convent (monasterium), the chapel (oratorium), and other places, *vide* 'Itinerarium Beati Antonini Martyris,' p. 28.—Juliomagi Andium, 1640.

373, writes,—"ils en trouvèrent trente-huit de morts dans *le monastère de Gethrabbi* à Cobar ou *Coreb;*"—'thirty-eight of them[23] were found dead in the *monastery* of Gethrabbi at Cobar or Coreb;' and Robinson (vol. i. p. 183) adds,—"In the middle of the *fifth* century, we find a letter from the Emperor Marcian to the Bishop Macarius, the archimandrites and *monks in* Mount Sinai, 'where are *situated monasteries* beloved of God and worthy of all honour.'"[24] And he subsequently (p. 186) remarks, that the Bishop Macarius, spoken of here, probably had his seat "at Pharan, or Faran, the present Feirân."

Now from these passages there at first sight seems to be some contradiction, but it is only an apparent one, as I will thus easily show. The Mount Sinai mentioned by Procopius and Eutychius is the mountain *at present so called.* The strong convent built by Justinian is allowed by all travellers to be the *same* which exists at this day, notwithstanding a doubt may arise as to the meaning of the words φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον,

[23] Two others died afterwards. The anniversary of the massacre of these martyrs is kept January 14; *vide* Act. Sanct. Jan. tom. i. p. 961. Robinson says, "It was doubtless from these *forty* martyrs that the convent El Arb'ain ('The Forty') received its name. Not improbably it may have been the Gethrabbi." ('Bibl. Res.' vol. i. p. 182, note 2.) This, however, is most improbable, for the reasons I have subsequently alleged; (see *infra*, p. 196.) But possibly the name El Arb'ain was given to the building, either in commemoration of those martyrs, or from having been founded on the anniversary of the day (28th December) on which they were killed: or indeed it may merely mean 'the many;' for "the number 'forty' among Oriental nations is often used to signify a *great* but *indefinite* number."—See note 14, p. 121, vol. ii. (second series) 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature;' also additional note 1.

[24] Robinson (p. 184) refers in a note (1) to "Harduin Acta Concilior. ii. col. 665, compared with col. 685."

which occur in the passage from Procopius translated above; but these, literally meaning a *strong fortress*, or a *fortified building*, yet seem to me to answer to what Eutychius calls 'a *monastery* which might be a *fortress*,'—"*monasterium* in quo *muniamur*,"—in fact, a strongly *fortified convent*.[25] And in reality the existing edifice, from the great height and strength of its walls, and from its mode of construction, has much more the appearance of a *fortress* than of a convent. On the other hand, the mountain named Sinai by Josephus, Ammonius, St. Nilus, Marcian, and other writers anterior to about A.D. 536, is, as I am led to conclude, no other than Mount *Serbal*, upon which *were* "*monasteries* beloved of God." The accurate Burckhardt,[26] in his visit to that mountain, noticed Deir Sigillye, "a ruined convent on the south-east side of Serbal, near the road which leads up to the summit of the mountain." It is distant from Faran four or five hours. Now 'Deir Sigillye' is the 'Convent Sigillye,' or, as the Rev. G. C. Renouard writes it, "Deir Sijillé," and which, he tells me, "probably means the *convent* or *house* of the *notary*." Also the monastery of 'Gethrabbi,' mentioned in Tillemont from Ammonius, is doubtless the same as that which St. Nilus (p. 89) has written *Βηθραμβή*, Bethrambe,[27] which, I conceive, is only a corruption of *Βηθραββὶ*, Bethrabbi, signifying in Hebrew a house or convent, *Beth* בֵּית, and רַבִּי *Rabbi*. This

[25] Dr. Robinson writes (p. 185),—"This accords with the appearance of the building at the present day, and is probably the same work which Procopius has *confounded with a fortress*."

[26] 'Syria,' p. 610.

[27] Dr. Robinson is of the same opinion. See his note 1, p. 182, vol. i.

last word was a title of honour among the Jews in the time of Christ, and was bestowed on the professors or *teachers of the law*. So Deir Sigillye—literally the *house* of the *notary*—seems probably to be a mere Arabic translation of *Bethrabbi*,—the word *Rabbi* answering to Sijillé, a *notary*. Moreover, this etymology is to me rendered the more likely and obvious, from the sect called *Paulicians* having two sorts of *teachers*, called Synecdemi and *Notarii:*[28] thus then Deir Sigillye or Sijillé would mean the *convent* or house of the *teachers*—Bethrabbi, and its ruins would in all probability be identified as those of the ancient convent of the latter name. Further, the expression used by Tillemont is—"le monastère de *Gethrabbi* à Cobar ou *Coreb*, et à Codar:" here Cobar is evidently a corruption of *Coreb*, for *Choreb*, the more correct form of writing *Horeb*, *Χωρήβ*.[29] And as, from evidence already adduced,[30] it appears that Mount Serbal was situate *in* Horeb, or was itself Mount Horeb, the words of Tillemont, properly interpreted, are—'the monastery of *Bethrabbi in Horeb*.'

Hence the accuracy of Eutychius is evidently established—where he has recorded, that before the time (A.D. 556) in which Justinian erected his *stronghold* for the monks, there was *no convent* on Mount Sinai (*i.e.* the mountain *now called* Sinai) wherein they *resorted together;* whilst the correctness of the Emperor Marcian's statement in his letter, about A.D. 450, that *in* Mount Sinai—that is, the earlier and first-named Mount Sinai (*hodiè* Mount Serbal)—there *were*

[28] See the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,' vol. xi. p. 446. Lond. 1845.

[29] Compare p. 217, and note 62; also additional note 1.

[30] See also *infra*, p. 204 and p. 218.

"*situated monasteries* beloved of God and worthy of all honour,"—is likewise equally well established.

But with regard to the *inscriptions* (on which more will be said at the conclusion of this Paper), I am satisfied that some are more ancient than others; that several are actually the work of Christians, some of whom were Greeks; and that many of the oldest, inscribed in those strange characters, have been so executed by an earlier people—not impossibly, as has been previously conjectured, by the Israelites themselves. And, though other learned travellers should coincide with Lepsius in thinking that *all* those *inscriptions* are solely "the work of a Christian pastoral people, who had independent possession of the peninsula,"—which is a bare conjecture, unsupported by any historical testimony,—still it must be clear that that same people accounted the *Serbal* a *holy mountain;* and therefore this circumstance, together with the fact of the existence of laboriously made and well-preserved *steps* leading to its summit, must in my mind have greater weight in identifying Mount Sinai with Mount *Serbal*, than belongs to the monkish and comparatively recent report, which at this day would assign that sacred locality either to Gebel Mousa, or to the adjoining Gebel Katherin, both of which names are, according to the Professor, "mere convent traditions," the earliest of which are understood only to date from the middle of the *sixth* century of the Christian era.[31] With respect, again,

[31] Letronne and Henniker have given copies of the Greek inscription still existing over a door in the present convent; from which, and from Burckhardt's Arabic inscription (p. 545), it appears that the edifice was built by Justinian in the *thirtieth* year of his reign (A. D. 556). But as to the more ancient chapel of "Helena, there

to the former of these, which *monkish tradition* has so settled, Robinson justly observes on such tradition, that "we found it not less usually, and almost regularly, to be but a baseless fabric. In the present case, there is *not* the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had any thing to do with the *summit*[32] which now bears *his name*."[33] And as to the latter mountain, there appears to be no solid argument or tradition in favour of its having been the chosen place where the Tables of the Law were delivered to Moses, because its legend relates to the dead body of St. Catharine alone. The reasons why I suppose it had been so maintained shall be afterwards related.[34]

The remaining mountains, to which the like claim has lately been appropriated, are those now called Gebel Minnegia and Gebel Horeb. The first is the same mountain which the Arabs name Gebel Limnegia, and is thought by Lord Lindsay[35] to be the real Sinai,—because "the Israelites encamping in El Raha, would camp directly in front of Gebel Minnegia." It is not laid down in Robinson's maps,

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is *not* the slightest historical hint that she was ever in the region of Mount Sinai, or caused any church to be erected there." (Robinson, vol. i. p. 184, note 4.) Saint Helena was not unfrequently introduced into monkish legends in order to give some colour of antiquity to them: I conclude, pursuant to Horace's maxim,—

"Nec (Diva) intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit."———

[32] Lord Castlereagh, in his recent 'Journey to Damascus,' vol. i., gives a plate of "Sinai," viz. the Gebel Mousa Peak, as seen "from Mount St. Catharine."

[33] Robinson, 'Bibl. Res.' vol. i. p. 154.

[34] *Vide infra*, pp. 210, 211.

[35] 'Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land,' vol. i. p. 354. London, 1838.

but Lord Lindsay says, "it rises directly in front of you, as you descend El Raha," after passing Gebel Horeb in proceeding eastwards.

The second, or Gebel Horeb, is considered by Dr. Robinson (p. 130) as the exact sacred locality. "He did *not* ascend it;" though he became convinced "that the plain El Ráhah is the probable spot where the congregation of Israel were assembled, and that the mountain impending over it—the present Horeb—was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the Law was given."[36]

The American traveller took the large plain, or Wadi el Ráhah, for the spot where "Israel *camped before* the mount" (Exodus xix. 2); and this was the principal feature in determining him to fix on Gebel Horeb as Mount Sinai.

Having lately examined the beautiful lithographic prints of 'the Holy Land,' by Mr. David Roberts, I was glad to notice, in the 2nd volume, several views of the now called Mount Sinai, Mount Horeb, the convent of St. Catharine, &c.; and having perused some of the descriptions of the plates, as written by

[36] 'Bibl. Res.' vol. i. p. 176. Lieut. Wellsted has given, in his second volume of 'Travels in Arabia,' a neat lithographic sketch of "Mount Sinai from the Tor road," or plain of Rahah: the lofty peak on the right hand in facing the mountain is, I suppose, that which Robinson ascended with "extreme difficulty and even danger," and which he names *El Sufsafeh*, 'the willow,' from one growing a little south of it. The middle of that sketch represents Gebel Horeb strictly so called by the monks. Robinson, in 1841, says (p. 132), with regard to the plain Rahah, that "*no* traveller has described" it; but in justice to my late friend, Lieut. Wellsted, I will refer the reader to p. 54 of his second volume, published in 1838, where he states that in it there is ample space for the multitude of Israelites. Lord Lindsay has likewise described it in his 'Letters,' also published in 1838.

the Rev. Dr. Croly, I found that he did not enter into any detail about the incorrectness of the present supposed Sinai, or other sacred mountains; and that in the letter-press illustrating the fine print of the "Encampment of the Aulad Sa'ìd, Mount Sinai,"[37] he writes,—"But it is to be recollected that, although in these sketches the *customary names* of the *mountains* have been adopted, their claims as the sites of the delivery of the Law have excited much learned discussion. Jebel Mousa, the Sinai of the monks, exhibits features incompatible with the sacred history; Jebel Katerin, the loftier peak of Horeb (which is now regarded as the original name of the *range*), seems scarcely less incompatible. It has been strongly argued (note in the 'Pictorial Bible') that the true mountain of the Law was Mount Serbal, anciently named Paran, the most conspicuous, and the first, object in the entrance to the Wilderness; a mountain, wholly separate, of sublime elevation, and of the most striking form and magnitude."

The author of that able note in the 'Pictorial Bible' (vol. i. p. 190), referred to by Dr. Croly, well concludes, from Deuteronomy xxxiii. 2, and Habakkuk iii. 3, that the Mount Paran there mentioned, whence

[37] This view has these words written in the left corner; but the last word, "Sinai," is either a mistake for 'Serbal,' or the artist intended by "Mount Sinai" to refer to the 'Peninsula of Mount Sinai.' Dr. Croly says, in his description of that plate, "the Aulad Sa'ìd were encamped close to the base of Mount Serbal." Indeed, the part of the grand mountain seen there, on the left in the distance, clearly represents some of the *higher peaks* of the Serbal, for it strongly resembles a part of Lord Lindsay's view of that mount, (see *infra*, note 53,) whilst the other part, on the right, exhibits its north-western roots. The plain, or valley, in which the tents are placed, is, I conclude, the upper portion of Wadi Firan.

*the Lord and the Holy One came*, and *shined forth*, whose *Glory covered the Heavens*, and *from his right hand went a fiery Law*, is the *same* as Mount Sinai. He adds, "but Mount Serbal *is* Mount Paran, therefore Mount Serbal *is* Sinai." Moreover, the valley at its base still bears the name of Feiran or Faran; and it appears from the Arabian historian, Makrizi, as quoted by Burckhardt, that the *mount* bore the *same name;* and, in fact, there is no other mountain in the Peninsula to which the name of Mount Paran can be assigned. He also says, the words Faran and Paran are the same; P and F being the same letters in Hebrew and Arabic.

I find, however, in the passage from Makrizi printed in Burckhardt's 'Syria' (p. 617), that there seems to be a doubt whether the Faran of the Arabian author refers to the mountain in the Sinaic Peninsula, or solely to the mountains near Mekka.[38] Makrizi's

[38] There is evident confusion in this account of Makrizi. "According to another (Arab) tradition, the original seats of Amalek were in Sena'a, and the surrounding parts of Yemen; whence, in after times, the Amalekites *emigrated*, as invaders, first to the neighbourhood of Mekka and Medina; and finally to the northern desert, and the frontiers of Syria and Palestine."—(Excerpta ex Abulfeda.) —Forster's 'Historical Geography of Arabia,' vol. ii. p. 39.—Most probably the Amalekites, having been driven from their own regions in the North and in the Peninsula of Sinai, by the Israelites, in obedience to the Divine command, fled (see 1 Samuel xxx. 17) into the southern districts of Arabia Felix. And "the same tradition proceeds to state the subsequent return of Amalek *northwards;* and the establishment of this tribe, as conquerors, in Mekka, and the surrounding parts of the Hedjaz." (*Ibid.* p. 49.) But I cannot find that any mountains *near* Mekka were called Faran, as Makrizi relates "it is said" they were: and therefore this name must refer to the mountain in Amalek's primitive territory in the Sinaic Peninsula, and which is actually mentioned by Moses. Such appears to

words, as there translated, are,—"It is said that Faran is the name of the mountains of Mekka, and that it is the name of *other* mountains in the Hedjaz, and that it is the place mentioned in the *books of Moses.*" . . . . . "It is stated that the mountains of Mekka derive their name from Faran Ibn Amr Ibn Amalyk. Some call them the mountains of Faran, others Fyran." Still, after consideration, I think that the name Faran relates not only to the mountains of Mekka, but likewise to the mountain (Serbal) which rises immediately from the valley and town of Faran in the Sinaic district, and that it is so intended in this part of Makrizi's statement;—"that it is the *name* of *other* mountains in the Hedjaz, and that it is the *place mentioned* in the *books of Moses;*"—because the term *Hedjaz*, which signifies a sacred spot, or place where pilgrims (Hadj) resort, by which the region around Mekka is generally known, may, I apprehend, also denote the *vicinity of* Mount Sinai, which was likewise a place of pilgrimage, a Holy Land, or *Hedjaz;* and this seems to be confirmed by the following observation, "that it is the *place mentioned by Moses,*" *i. e.* 'Mount Paran,' in Deuteronomy xxxiii. 2. Then the statement continues, that the mountains derive their name from "Faran Ibn Amr Ibn Amalyk," which, interpreted, is 'Faran the son (of) Amr (who was) the son (of) Amalyk,'—that is—from Faran the grandson of Amalyk or Amalek. And the country belonging, in the earliest times, to the Amalekites, was that in the immediate vicinity of Mount Horeb, or Mount Sinai; for it was

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me to be the solution of the traditions confusedly given by the Arabian writers.

*in Rephidim* that Amalek fought with Israel (Exodus xvii. 8), and it was at the *same place* that Moses smote the *rock in Horeb* (*ibid.* v. 6); consequently *Rephidim* was *in Horeb*, or *Sinai.*

The present ruins of Faran, Pharan, or Paran, being considered as those of an Amalekitish town,[39] must be *close* upon the ancient Rephidim,—indeed, so says Eusebius, but Cosmas Indopleustes[40] holds them to be *identical;* and they thus tend to corroborate the forcible opinion that Mount Serbal is Mount Faran, or Paran, or the "Mount of God" *in Horeb.* In the valley, called Wadi Firan by Lepsius, at the foot of Mount Serbal, there existed, as early as the fourth century, a town[41] and convent of that name;

[39] "The old town of Faran," as Dr. Lepsius observes (p. 29), "was built on the site of *a former town,* as in most of the houses, although the greater part of them are of granite from the spot, there are many sandstone blocks, columns, and fragments of architraves, from the ruins of the church and convent, which have been built in, and are evidently entirely distinct from the *older* stone houses, which look like tombs."

[40] See the original passages, *infra,* pp. 220, 221.

[41] I cannot agree with Mr. Forster in considering the site of *Pharan Civitas* of Ptolemy to be at *Tur* ('Hist. Geog. of Arabia,' vol. i. p. 345); but I fix it at the ruins of *Faran.* Ptolemy calls it ἡ μὲν Φαρὰν κώμη, or 'the town Pharan.' Mr. Forster is, however, right as to the situation of *Pharan Promontorium,* which he places at the south angle of the Peninsula, named 'Ras (Cape) Mohammed.' Ptolemy, describing the boundary of Arabia Petræa, says it extends, μέχρι τοῦ κατὰ Φαρὰν ἀκρωτηρίου, 'as far as the promontory below *Pharan.*' (*Vide* Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. v. cap. 16, p. 373, edit. Wilberg. Essendiæ, 1844.) This town was evidently a considerable one about the beginning of the fifth century after Christ; for Nilus, describing the massacre of the hermits on Sinai (Serbal) by the Arabs, relates that he came afterwards to Φαρὰν, and then he speaks of the 'Senate of the inhabitants of *Pharan*'—βουλὴ τῶν τὴν Φαρὰν οἰκούντων· (p. 87, Nili 'Op. Quæd.') It was, at that time,

the site and numerous ruins of which are still visible, and are represented in two plates (11 and 12) of De Laborde's 'Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée,' Paris, 1830. This author writes the name Feiran. It became noted about A. D. 626, from being the see of Bishop Theodorus, who was regarded as the author of Monothelism, and is called *Pharan* in the 'Biographie Universelle' (p. 286, tom. xlv. Paris, 1826). Also Mr. Grey, in his Paper on the Inscriptions at Wadi Mukatteb, in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature' (p. 147, vol. ii.), speaks of some "huts at Paran," clearly meaning, near the ruins of Faran; which are at about six hours' distance from that Wadi. And in the Septuagint Mount Paran is translated *Φαράν*. Further, Mount Paran, in Hebrew פָּארָן, seems to be derived from the verb פאר *par*, to beautify or ornament; and the noun substantive is פְּאֵר, an ornament for the head, a *crown* or *tiara:* it occurs in Ezekiel xxiv. 17.—And the Rev. G. C. Renouard has kindly informed me that Castell, in his 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' says that the Maronites give to the word *Serbal* the sense of *Corona*. Mr. Renouard himself, however, thinks Serbal to be of Persian origin; and he afterwards wrote to me, that on looking at the place again, he found that the "Corona est autem Maronitarum" must literally signify "the *head-dress* worn by the Maronites." But whether Giggeius, from whom this is taken, gives any authority for that meaning, he does not know. Now the summit of Mount Serbal admirably answers to this etymology, because it

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also the seat of a bishop. But the great *Desert of Paran* was situated to the north and north-east of the district of Horeb or Sinai.

greatly resembles a head-dress, or crown, or rather a *tiara* with many high points, and, in particular, not unlike that represented as the erect *crown* of the Persian kings. In fact, Dr. Lepsius, when describing Mount Serbal, expressly mentions "its *crown* of five immense peaks." So Dr. Robinson (p. 126), giving his account of a fine view of it, speaks of its "numerous points, or peaks, of which there are reckoned five principal ones; the whole being strictly what the Germans call a *kamm*,"—that is, a *comb* or *crest*.

Hence no doubt can remain that Firan, Feiran, Faran, Pharan, and Paran, are all identical; the town having been originally built in the valley of the same names, in the immediate vicinity of the sublime mountain, Serbal, which likewise appears to have once borne one of those appellations. Indeed Mr. Carne, in his description of that mountain, quoted in a subsequent passage,[42] calls it "Mount Paran." Consequently, from the passages of Scripture before alluded to, it is apparent that Mount Paran and Mount Sinai were, in fact, the *same* mountain; and Mount Serbal—having at an early period been called Mount Faran, or Pharan—now bears the highest claim to the title of the *true Mount Sinai.*

The great historian of the Jews, in his 'Antiquities' of that people, has left two short descriptions of Mount Sinai; but I am much disappointed in not being able to learn from them the exact geographical position of that mountain. We shall, nevertheless, find them of some use in examining the claims of the different *supposed Sinais:* for this object I here

[42] See *infra*, p. 208.

quote the original passages, and append my own translations.

*Καὶ Μωϋσῆς . . . . . χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον νέμων, ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος ἄγει τὰ ποίμνια· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτῃ ὀρῶν.*[43] . . . . . 'And Moses . . . . . sometime afterwards, feeding sheep, leads his flocks to the mountain called *Sinai;* and this is the *loftiest* of the mountains in *that* place.'

*Μωϋσῆς . . . . . ἀνῄει πρὸς τὸ Σιναῖον, ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὀρῶν τυγχάνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὂν ἀναβατόν.*[44] . . . . . 'Moses . . . . . went up to Mount *Sinai*, being the *loftiest* of the mountains in those districts, and not only *almost inaccessible* to men, by reason of its *excessive magnitude*, but also of the *steepness* of its *precipices*.'

Dr. Lepsius says that the majestic Mount Serbal "is remarkable from its imposing dark mass, which stands out, single and compact, with its crown of five immense peaks, all of the same height, 6000 feet (or, according to Rüppell, 6342) above the level of the sea, and slopes abruptly down, on the sea side, in rocky ledges, having nothing to compare with it far and wide even on the other side." Now the height here given must clearly be calculated in Parisian,[45] and not in English feet; hence those

[43] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. II. cap. 12, s. 1. Edit. F. Oberthür, Lips. 1782.

[44] *Ibid.* lib. III. cap. 5, s. 1.

[45] On referring to p. 128, I. band of 'Reise in Abyssinien von Dr. Eduard Rüppell,' I find that his calculation is made in French or Parisian feet.

altitudes, according to our computation, will respectively amount to about 6400, and to nearly 6800, English feet. The last, then, will make Gebel Serbal to be about 700 English feet lower than the extreme top of Gebel Mousa; which point, as Lieut. Wellsted[46] writes, "has been erroneously estimated at 7200 feet above the convent; but we ascertained its altitude from two points within the sea of Akabah; one giving 7530, and the other 7480, above the level of the sea: 2500 feet is its greatest elevation above the convent." Yet the latter mountain, being one of a group, or chain, does not seem so high as the Serbal, which is isolated, and is, as Lepsius states, "always in sight in every direction, on whatever height you may happen to be, or in whatever open plain." And this presents an easy explanation why he calls Gebel Mousa only "a secondary one;" and he remarks that it is "almost eclipsed by others of the great southern chain, the geographical centre of which is neither in Gebel Mousa, nor the loftier Gebel Katherin, but in the more southern and considerably more elevated Gebel Um Schomar."

Having already alluded to Mr. Carne's account of Mount Serbal, I now insert it here.

"The sun was setting, and we passed, at no great distance, Mount *Paran:*[47] its form was most singular, yet indescribably grand; it had (*five*) sharp and pointed summits, and its side towards the Wilderness

[46] 'Travels in Arabia,' vol. ii. p. 95.

[47] The same author also designates *Wadi Firan* as "the valley of *Paran:*" he remarks (p. 203), we "entered the wilderness of *Paran,*" evidently meaning *Wadi Firan;* because, at p. 205, he afterwards says—"the *valley of Paran* now became very narrow." See Carne's 'Letters from the East.' London, 1826.

was formed of *perpendicular precipices of rock;* between its (*five*) summits, which rose like towers, were cast the declining beams of the sun."

Since the preceding is an *evening* view, I will add only one more,—a *morning* scene of the same sublime mountain,—made in the year 1842, by the Rev. George Fisk.[48]

"On the right was one of the most impressive objects of mountain scenery I ever beheld; so gracefully yet majestically elevated, with its many almost *perpendicular peaks,* and tinted with an empurpled rosy hue by the fresh beams of the young sun. Surrounded by other mountains of *less magnitude,* frowning in *rugged majesty,* its singularly beautiful outline and colour made me look upon it as the *aristocrat* in the scene."

As Flavius Josephus, himself a Jew, is the earliest author, next after the Scripture writers, who makes mention of Sinai,—living in the first century of the Christian era, and of great accuracy,—his descriptions of that mountain in his day are worthy of minute attention, and of being made the test whereby the best claim may be assigned to the most probable of the respective mountains in dispute.

Josephus expressly describes the Holy Mount to be 'the *loftiest* of the mountains in *that place:*' this testimony at once negatives the claims set up respectively by the monks to Gebel Mousa, by Lord Lindsay to Gebel Minnegia, and by Dr. Robinson to Gebel Horeb; notwithstanding the latter part of Josephus's second description well accords with the almost inaccessible and precipitous nature of the last-

[48] 'Pastor's Memorial,' p. 144.

named mountain. Gebel Katherin being much the *highest* of the mountains in the now-termed Sinaic district, gives it some likelihood to be so distinguished. Such is also the case as respects Gebel Serbal in its immediate circle of mountains. But if we are to translate the words of Josephus in the second quotation,—*ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὀρῶν*,—'the *loftiest* of the mountains in *those regions*,' and not 'in those immediately adjoining parts, or districts,' that is to say, in the *whole peninsula*,—it is clear that none of the mountains before specified can have any fair claim; but that the mountain called *Um Schomar*, which stands more to the south, can alone, from its altitude, be asserted as—*τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος*,—the *true* Sinai.

So, then, Mounts St. Catherine, Serbal, and Um Schomar, are those for which alone we have any good authority, according to Josephus, for our serious and further consideration in this disputed question. Now, as to the last, no claim whatever, as far as I am aware, either emanating from history or from tradition, can be alleged in its favour: consequently Mount St. Catherine and the Serbal are the only two mountains which can, with any probability, be maintained to be the "Mount of God."

In addition to being the *highest* mountain in its own vicinity, Gebel Katherin has a monkish legend in its support. The fabricated story is this: St. Catherine having suffered martyrdom about A.D. 307, at Alexandria, her body disappearing, was said to have been borne through the air by angels to Mount Sinai, "and *more than three hundred years afterwards*, when the convent below had been founded, a monk, who lived in the hills, having been warned in a dream, discovered

the bones, and conveyed them to the shrine[49] where they have ever since reposed."[50]

The writer of the life of St. Catherine, in the 'Biographie Universelle,' gives the following solution of this miraculous legend:—"vers la fin du huitième siècle, les chrétiens d'Egypte ayant trouvé le corps d'une femme dans la montagne de *Sina*, le prirent pour celui d'une sainte martyre, le déposèrent dans le monastère."[51]

The monks, I suppose, gave out that *Gebel Katherin* was the *true Sinai*, from one of their brethren being told in his sleep, that the corpse of St. Catherine was transported to the *summit of Mount Sinai*, where she had formerly taken refuge. And subsequently, professing to have found it on the *extreme top* of the *mountain* which bears *her name*, they thus proclaimed *that spot* to be the *sacred* locality.

Mount St. Catherine, then, besides presenting local difficulties inconsistent with the Mosaic narrative, "possesses in itself," as Dr. Lepsius writes, "no historical interest; and there is not the slightest grounds for agreeing with Rüppell, in taking it for Mount Horeb."[52]

Lastly, as to the Serbal.—By comparing the descriptions of this mountain, which I have previously quoted from several modern travellers, with those

[49] The Military Order of Knights of "St. Catherine of Mount Sinai" was instituted in A.D. 1063, to defend travellers going to the shrine of that saint. See the account in H. Clark's 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. ii. p. 69. The order, as figured in Plate XXIII., represents a Catherine wheel interlaced with the compound cross of Jerusalem.

[50] Lord Castlereagh's 'Journey to Damascus,' vol. ii. p. 9.

[51] 'Biog. Univers.' tom. vii. p. 366. Par. 1813.

[52] *Vide* 'Reise in Abyssinien,' I. band, p. 120. Frankf. 1838.

of Josephus, it will be found that they exactly correspond, both in respect of its being the *highest* of the mountains in its vicinity, and also of its *vast magnitude* and *steep precipices*. The extreme difficulty too of the ascent on the side by which Burckhardt climbed to the eastern peak, affords a more complete and accurate agreement.

Wherefore, for the reasons already given, as well as for those deduced by Lepsius from the nature of the adjacent country, and examined with the accounts in Scripture, the evidence seems to me to be altogether in favour of Mount Serbal.[53]

The late Lieut. Wellsted, Lord Lindsay, and Dr. Robinson, have made the existence of *sufficient space* (as the plain El Raha) for the multitude of the Israelites to encamp, one of the *chief* features in settling the position of Mount Sinai. In this I fully coincide; and according to Burckhardt (p. 616), the place where Wadi Firan joins Wadi Alegat to the east of the site of Faran is about a *quarter of an hour*,—that is, nearly three quarters of a mile, *wide:* here, therefore, would be ample room for the encampment of many thousands. If, with Lepsius, we fix Rephidim at El Hessue, distant one hour to the west of Faran, then the plain made by the junction of those two valleys might well suit for Israel to have "there camped before the Mount" Serbal.

I believe, however, that the south-west and south sides of the Serbal have never yet been thoroughly explored by any traveller; and it is not improbable, that a part of the extensive plain El Ka'a, or some

[53] There is a lithographed plate of a sketch by the late Mr. W. Ramsay, of "Gebel Serbal from Wady Feiran," in Lord Lindsay's 'Letters,' vol. ii.

broad valley communicating with it, may be discovered in either of those sides, which might by nature be better adapted for the assembling of *all the children* of Israel, and where the Serbal might appear full in front, and rising directly from that valley, or plain:[54] if so, on the last day of their journey to Mount Sinai, they would have left El Hessue, and, proceeding a little westwards, they would pass round the south-west base of the Serbal, and then arrive in that valley: this would strictly agree with the biblical narrative,—"for they were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount." (Exodus xix. 2.) Again, the name of the Wadi Hebron הֶבְרוֹן, which leads from El Ka'a on the southern district of the Serbal in a north-easterly direction, makes me incline to the likelihood of this south side of that mountain having been the situation of the camp of Israel in the *Wilderness of Sinai;* because, if Hebron has been for many ages the right name of that valley, and not merely one conferred in late years by monkish tradition, it will be apparently connected with the Hebrews, and possibly may have been the direction which that people took on leaving Sinai, and on their journeying to the north-east into the desert of Paran.

Next, the learned Professor ably observes,—"The name *Sinai,* which in the time of Moses was only called *Sini,* is written precisely like the Wilderness of *Sin,* except the final *i,* and indeed, with the same *samech* at the beginning. There can be no doubt,

[54] Dr. Lepsius (p. 71) calls this plain "the arid, sandy, parched-up desert of *Q'a'a under the Serbal.*" *El Ka'a,* in Arabic, means '*the plain.*'

therefore, that the two names are connected, one being derived from the other, and in fact, according to the formation of the two words, the name of the mountain from that of the district." I may here mention that *Sin* and *Sinai*,[55] in the Hebrew (*Sini*), —סין and סיני,—are translated Σὶν and Σινά in the Septuagint; and that we must be careful not to confound the *wilderness* or *desert of Zin*,—which word begins in the original with a *tzade* צ, and not a *samech* ס, thus—צין, and which in the Septuagint appears incorrectly written Σὶν for Ζὶν,—with the former. For the *desert* of *Zin* (Numbers xxvii. 14) seems, from the best authorities, to begin at the head of the gulf of Akabah, and to lead to Kadesh on one side, and to Petra, in the land of Edom, on the other. And I quite agree with Lepsius in his explanation of Mount Sinai having received *two* names; as follows,—"that that of *Sinai* is derived from the Wilderness of *Sin*, and properly signifies merely *Mount of Sin*, which does not exclude the possibility of its having likewise the specific *Amalekite* name of *Horeb*. The district of *Sin*, as being the ordinary name, was more extensively known, perhaps, and consequently more familiar to the Israelites in Egypt, than the local name, *Horeb*." Hence then, "in the phraseology afterwards in vogue, *Sin* is used for the whole district, *Sini* especially for the mountain; *Horeb*, chiefly for the dwelling of the Amalekites at its foot."

Whiston has, however, in his note *a*, at p. 73 of his translation of Josephus, (fol. edit. London, 1737,) thus similarly remarked,—"The other name of Sinai,

[55] This word is more literally translated in the 'Acts of the Apostles,' vii. 30 and 38, from the Greek Σινά, 'Sina.'

*Horeb*, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians[56] only, whence the Israelites were lately come; as *Sinai* was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly, when (1 Kings xix. 8) the Scripture says that Elijah *came to Horeb the Mount of God*,"—(or in the Septuagint translation, ἐπορεύθη . . . . . ἕως ὄρους Χωρὴβ[57]),—"Josephus justly says (Antiq. VIII. c. 13, s. 7), that *he came to the mountain called Sinai;*[58] and Jerome, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, *Sinai* and *Choreb*. De nomin. Heb. p. 427, edit. Benedict."

Customs among the Arabs, particularly the Bedouins, rarely vary; and what was the usage centuries ago, is still ascertained to be the *same* at this day. One of their general customs is to name a mountain after a principal valley which runs in its neighbourhood; therefore it seems certain that the like has prevailed for more than three thousand years. Again, Dr. Lepsius correctly informs us—"it is clear that by the term *Wilderness* (that is, *Valley*) of Sin, we are not to understand a large district, like the deserts of Etham, Zin, and Paran, but merely the immediate circle about Sinai, especially the palm-ground. The name *Horeb*, in like manner, was not applied solely, nor even principally, to the mountain, but also to the *valley;*[59] more properly, perhaps, to

[56] I think more likely, as Lepsius (p. 82) states, "the Amalekites."

[57] But this is thus rendered in the Alexandrine MS. . . . ἕως ὄρους τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Χωρήβ.—*Vide* 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta,' edit. Walton, tom. ii. p. 500. Lond. 1657.

[58] This is the original passage in Josephus: Ὁ Ἠλίας . . . . . εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος παραγίνεται, ὃν Μωϋσῆς τοὺς νόμους παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγεται λαβεῖν.

[59] Mr. Forster thus reads Numbers xiv. 25: "Now the Amalekites

the inhabited part of it." And the latter ground, or "*Wilderness* of *Sin*, which is between Elim and Sinai" (Exodus xvi. 1),—he has demonstrated to be part of the valley of *Firan*. Also, it appears from the derivation given at p. 84, that the word *Sin*, סִין, "signifies in the Semitic[60] dialects, '*earth, slime;*'"—and according to others, '*mire*,' or '*mud;*'—or in a stricter sense, *slime* or *mud* deposited by water, *i. e.* alluvium, or alluvial earth from which water has been drained: thus "the wilderness of Sin" would, in its original signification, mean *the valley of alluvial earth*, or rich and loamy soil, similar to that of "El gennain fel Wadi Firan—the gardens in Wadi Firan." And Burckhardt[61] equally notices the fertility of this valley, and of the neighbouring one, *Romman:* he says it "is owing chiefly to the *alluvial soil* brought down from the mountains *by the torrents*, and which soon acquires consistence in the *bottoms* of the Wadis." He further adds, "In winter time the valley (Firan) is completely flooded, and a large stream of water, collected from all the lateral valleys of Wadi el Sheikh, empties itself through Wadi Firan into the gulf of Suez, near the Birket Faraoun" (Pharaoh's pool).

Again, the original meaning of *Horeb*,[62] or more

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and the Canaanites dwelt in the valley (of Horeb.)"—'Historical Geography of Arabia,' vol. ii. p. 21.

[60] The Semitic, or more correctly Shemitic dialects, are those which belong to what in England was formerly termed the Hebraistic or Arabic, but now the Syro-Arabian, family of languages.

[61] 'Syria,' p. 619.

[62] The Arabic, or rather Amalekitish word Horeb, is more accurately written *Choreb:* so some authors give *Charem*, as the correct form, instead of the commoner, Harem.

properly *Choreb*, חֹרֵב, חֹרֵב, and in the Greek of the Septuagint *Χωρὴβ*, very remarkably coincides with that of *Sin;* for Lepsius gives it as "*earth* made dry by *draining* off the water." Hence *Horeb* and *Sin*, or *Sinai*, are synonymous, and possess a like signification; so "Mount of God, *Horeb*," is *identical* with "Mount of God, *Sinai*." In support of this I will bring forward examples from sacred, and from two other ancient, authorities. In Exodus iii. 1, 2, it is written, "Moses . . . . . came to the *mountain* of God, even to *Horeb*.[63] And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush." Whereas the *same* transaction is thus mentioned in 'the Acts of the Apostles,' vii. 30: "There appeared to him, in the wilderness of *Mount Sina*, an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush;"—so the Jewish historian records it as having occurred 'at the mountain named *Sinai*,'—*ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος*.[64] And Georgius Syncellus, writing in the eighth century of our era, states that 'Elijah . . . . . went his way on the mountain *Horeb*, that is (the mountain) *Sinai;*'—*Ὁ Ἠλίας . . . ὁδὸν ἐπορεύετο ἐν Χωρὴβ τῷ ὄρει, ἤτοι Σιναίῳ*,[65]—thus reconciling what Scripture, describing the *same event*, has there named both *Horeb* and *Sina*, and likewise what it has in another passage, before considered,[66] termed "*Horeb* the Mount of God,"—and what Josephus terms "the mountain called *Sinai*." As we

[63] The Septuagint has merely—'Moses . . . . . came to the mountain *Horeb*.' Μωϋσῆς . . . . . ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Χωρήβ.

[64] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. II. cap. 12, s. 1.

[65] 'Georgii Syncelli Chronographia,' tom. ii. p. 152. Corpus Hist. Byzant. Edit. Venet. 1729.

[66] 1 Kings xix. 8: *vide supra*, p. 215, and note 58.

have previously endeavoured to show that *Mount Serbal* presents far the best claim to be accounted the *true Mount Sinai;* consequently *Mount Serbal* must be equally esteemed the *Mount Horeb* (Exodus xxxiii. 6), and also the *Mount in Horeb*, of Holy Writ. Wherefore, Mount Horeb, Mount Sinai, and Mount Paran, as used by Moses, evidently signify *one and the same* sacred mountain.

Now, in further illustration that the *Wilderness*[67] of Sin is to be here received as a *wadi*, that is, a *valley*, or plain, bounded by mountains on each side, and not a vast, parched, and open desert, I will merely notice that the same expression is used in Psalm cvi. 9, where it must clearly be interpreted by a *valley*. It is this :—"He rebuked the Red Sea also, and it was dried up : so he led them through the deep as through a *wilderness*." And the same is more thoroughly explained in Exodus xiv. 22, where it is said, that "the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left." Again, in Exodus[68] it is written—"the children of Israel were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the desert of Sinai, and had pitched *in the wilderness*, and *there* Israel *camped before the mount*. Moses went up to the top of *Mount Sinai*, where the Lord came down, and delivered the tables to him ; and when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, they asked of

[67] *Wilderness*, or *Desert*, in Hebrew, *Midbar*, מדבר. When these names are mentioned in Scripture we are not always to imagine them to be places uninhabited and barren ; as these words often represent the soil near a city or village, which was appointed for pasture, and where the plough never came.—*Cruden's Concordance.*

[68] Chapter xix. v. 2, 20 ; chapter xxxi. v. 18 ; and chapter xxxii. v. 1, 4, 15, 19.

Aaron to make them a *molten calf*. And Moses turned and went down from the mount, and as soon as he came nigh the *camp*, he saw the *calf;* and he brake the tables *beneath the Mount*" (Sinai). Now the inspired writer, in Psalm cvi. verse 19, briefly mentioning the same occurrence, says—"They made a *calf in Horeb*, and worshipped the molten image." Here, then, this Psalmist means by the words "in Horeb," the *identical* place which Moses in the book of Exodus calls "in the wilderness of Sinai,"—where was the *camp* of Israel when the golden calf was set up. Wherefore I would read the verse in that Psalm thus:—"They made a calf in (the *valley* of) *Horeb*, and worshipped the molten image."

The Prussian traveller takes Rephidim—the *Ῥαφιδὶμ* of Eusebius, *Ῥαφιδὶν* of Josephus, and *Ῥαφιδεὶν* of the Septuagint—to be the present *El Hessue*,[69] distant only an hour to the west of the ruins of *Faran*, in the upper portion of *Wadi Firan*, where Moses gave the people drink out of the "salubrious rivulet, which there as suddenly and wonderfully loses itself in the rock, as it had suddenly gushed[70] out of it

[69] Burckhardt (p. 618) writes it *Hosseye*, and records that it is "one hour" distant from Faran: so Lepsius's "mile" (p. 74) must be intended for a short *German mile*.

[70] This beautiful rivulet may possibly be that which Moses caused to flow when he smote the rock, and it may have continued to pour forth its copious stream ever since. And there is strong testimony that such was the situation of Rephidim; or, at least, somewhere not far distant from the old city of Pharan,—where, most probably, "there was," at the arrival of the Israelites, "*no water* for the people to drink." But it could not have been near the *present* supposed Sinai, unless indeed the nature of that country has subsequently undergone a great *physical change;* because Burckhardt

higher up." Near there "he opened the rock, and the waters gushed out; they ran in the dry places like a river," (Psalm cv. 41.) It is also to be borne in mind that it was "*in Rephidim*" that "Amalek came and fought with Israel;" that Moses did there "smite the rock;" and that both were "*in Horeb*," (Exodus xvii. 1, 6, 8,)—that is to say, in *the valley of Horeb*. Dr. Lepsius remarks, that Cosmas Indopleustes "makes Faran (*Pharan*) the site of the ancient *Rephidim;*—so does Jerome,[71] who thought the wilderness of *Faran* abutted on *Horeb*."[72]

As the passages, here lastly referred to, are of the greatest interest, I will make no apology for inserting them at length, and for giving my own translations.

Eusebius, in the original Greek, writes—*Ῥαφιδὶμ, τόπος τῆς ἐρήμου παρὰ τὸ Χωρὴβ ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει Χωρὴβ ἐῤῥύησε τὰ ὕδατα· καὶ ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος Πειρασμός· ἔνθα καὶ πολεμεῖ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ ἐγγὺς Φαράν.*

St. Jerome has thus translated the same extract into Latin:

"*Raphidim*, locus in deserto juxta montem *Choreb*, in quo de petra fluxere aquæ, cognominatusque est

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(p. 580) distinctly observes, in that "part of the peninsula the Israelites *could not have suffered from thirst:* the Upper Sinai is *full* of wells and springs, the greater part of which are *perennial*."

[71] Jerome, in the passage cited in the text, does not say the "wilderness of *Faran*," but only "*deserto*," meaning, I think, the "desert" or "wilderness of *Sinai*," (see Exodus xix. 2,) which I take to be identical with "the valley of *Horeb*."

[72] See likewise 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. pp. 186, 552, where Robinson also writes the name *Pharan*.

*Tentatio:* ubi et Jesus adversus Amalec dimicat *propè Pharan.*"[73]

'*Raphidim*, a place in the wilderness near Mount Horeb, in which the waters streamed forth out of the rock that is in Mount Horeb; and the place was called *Temptation* (Massah): there also Joshua fought with Amalek *near Pharan.*'

And Cosmas as follows: *Εἶτα πάλιν παρενέβαλον εἰς Ῥαφιδὶν, εἰς τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Φαράν· καὶ διψευσάντων αὐτῶν, πορεύεται κατὰ πρόσταξιν Θεοῦ ὁ Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰς Χωρὴβ τὸ ὄρος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ Σιναΐῳ, ἐγγὺς ὄντι τῆς Φαρὰν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ.*[74]

'Then, again, they pitched in *Raphidin*, in the city now named *Pharan;* and they being thirsty, Moses proceeds, by the command of God, with the Elders, having also his rod in his hand, unto *Mount Horeb*, which is in *Mount Sinai*, that is distant about six miles from the city of *Pharan.*'

And Dr. Lepsius proceeds,[75]—"Now it was in the Wilderness of *Sin* that the Lord sent the *quails* and *manna* for the people to eat. I have already mentioned the vast number of desert fowls, which are still so remarkable at the present day. They naturally frequented principally the most fertile valleys; and the *manna* is likewise found only in the well-watered valleys of the primitive mountains, especially, and now almost exclusively, in the *Wadi*

[73] 'Sancti Hieronymi Opera,' tom. ii. p. 474.—"Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum." Edit. J. Martianau. Par. 1699. See additional notes 2 and 3.

[74] *Κοσμα Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία*, in 'Collectio nova Patrum,' edit. Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 195. Par. 1706.

[75] 'Tour,' p. 66.

*Firan*, and the adjoining part of the *Wadi e' Schech.* The Arabs say that it is found in one or two more distant places, and assert that it is *not* produced[76] in the other valleys, although *tarfa* bushes are met with almost everywhere." This substance, resembling *honey*, is named *manna*, and by the Arabs, *men*, or *mun;* it is produced from these bushes, which Dr. Ehrenberg calls *tamarix mannifera*, although more generally accounted as a *variety* of *T. Gallica*. That author discovered that the juice or *manna* was caused to exude from the small stems and branches by their being punctured by a minute insect, which he has called *coccus manniparus;*—he describes it thus: "ex vulneribus minimis, nudo oculo non conspicuis, post pluvias copiosus succus limpidus, sensim concrescens, et syrupi rufescentis instar decidens effluit. Ante solis ortum et brevi post, ob aëris calorem moderatum rigidulus est et facilius è terrâ, rarius ab arbore, colligitur; ardente sole in terram diffluit." Ehrenberg has given, in his 'Symbolæ Physicæ Insectorum,' Decas I. Tab. x., a beautiful coloured engraving of this *tarfa*, or tamarisk, with its *coccus*, and its *manna* dropping from it. The late Lieut. Wellsted presented me with a little *manna* which he had brought from Arabia: I found it pleasant in flavour, very sweet, not unlike dropped honey mixed with some flour, slightly aromatic, and of a yellowish-white colour. Burckhardt states (p. 600) that the Bedouins call

[76] Burckhardt confirms this, as follows: "I never heard of the *tamarisk* producing *manna*, except *in Mount Sinai*" (p. 601). This curious fact may probably be accounted for by the *absence* of the *coccus*, by whose puncture the juice is caused to exude: this small insect may be a *local* species, and not found elsewhere.

it *mann*, and "consider it the greatest dainty which their country affords:" they usually eat it with bread, like honey.

But I must here express a decided opinion against this statement of Lepsius,—"it is, in fact, inconceivable to me, how so circumspect a man as Robinson could for a moment *doubt* that this is the *old manna* of the Israelites,"—because, if we compare the descriptions of the *manna* sent from heaven, given in Exodus xvi. and Numbers xi., with the preceding account from Ehrenberg, as well as with others detailed by Burckhardt, Wellsted, Robinson, &c., we shall at once perceive that the *manna*, as at present exuded from the *tarfa* shrubs, answers in very few particulars to the *Israelitish manna*. If indeed the latter were to be considered a *natural* product, and not a new "bread" miraculously "rained" by the Lord "from heaven," (Exodus xvi. 4,) it was nevertheless undoubtedly *miraculous* on many accounts; particularly in the vast quantity of it, in the double supply on the sixth day, in the regular continuance of it for forty years, &c.

In the ninth verse of the eleventh chapter of Numbers we are told,—"when the *dew fell* upon the camp in the night, the *manna fell* upon it." Having recently met with an interesting notice of a *rain of manna*, in a late number of the 'Edinburgh Philosophical Journal,' I will quote a few extracts from it, to show that that kind of manna appears, in its mode of *falling*, and in some other of its characteristics, to approach much nearer to the *manna* of Scripture. "Several occurrences of what is called a *fall of manna* are attributable to the accumulation of the lichen, *Lecanora esculenta*. . . . . In 1829, during the war between Persia and Russia, there was

a great famine in Oroomiah, s. w. of the Caspian. One day, during a violent wind, the surface of the country was covered by a lichen, which *fell from heaven.* The sheep immediately attacked and devoured it eagerly, which suggested to the inhabitants the idea of reducing it to flour, and making *bread* of it, which was found to be good and nourishing." —Also, "a *rain* of *manna* occurred, April, 1846, in the district of Jenischehir, and formed a layer three or four inches in thickness. It was of a greyish-white colour, rather hard, and irregular in form, inodorous, and insipid."—It varied "in size from that of a pin's head to a pea or small nut." [77]

Georgius Syncellus, writing on the *Sinaic manna* at the end of the eighth century, says,[78]—'This *manna* indeed I have beheld brought from *Parthia,* and I have partaken of it, being of the *same taste,*[79] but not so abundant, as it was formerly seen; neither have I beheld it in this wilderness' (of *Sinai*).

And Wellsted relates, in his 'Travels in Arabia,' (vol. ii. p. 49,) that a Jewish Rabbi told him, "that on his journey through the Desert contiguous to Damascus, far removed from trees or vegetation of

[77] Jameson's 'Edinburgh New Phil. Journal,' p. 178, for July, 1847.

[78] . . . . *τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ μάννα κομισθὲν ἐκ τῆς Παρθικῆς εἶδον ἐγὼ, καὶ μετέσχον αὐτοῦ, τῆς αὐτῆς γεύσεως ὂν, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω πλουσίως οἷον ὤφθη ποτὲ· οὐδὲ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἔρημον.*—'Georgii Syncelli Chronographia,' tom. ii. p. 103, Corp. Hist. Byzant.

[79] As to the *taste* of the *manna,* there is a discrepancy in the Mosaic narrative; for in Exodus xvi. 31, it is written, "the taste of it was like *wafers* made with *honey;*" and in the Septuagint, *τὸ δὲ γεῦμα αὐτου ὡς ἐγκρὶς ἐν μέλιτι,* which I render, 'and the taste of it was like a *cake* made with *honey.*' Again, in Numbers xi. 8, it is said, "the taste of it was as the taste of *fresh oil;*" but in the Septuagint, *καὶ ἦν ἡ ἡδονὴ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ γεῦμα ἐγκρὶς ἐξ ἐλαίου,* which I translate, 'and the pleasantness of it was as the taste of a *cake* made with *oil.*'

any kind, a substance was deposited, which, from his description, in appearance, size, and flavour, accurately resembled the *manna* of Scripture. This was firmly believed by him and the people of the country to have *fallen* there as a *dew from heaven.*" I therefore conceive that the *manna* mentioned by the last two authors, and by Josephus, is most likely of the same sort as that described in the 'Philosophical Journal' as having occurred in Persia; and it may possibly have, in like manner, fallen at a *former* period within the Sinaic Peninsula, and consequently have been the *real manna* of the Israelites, could it be determined that the latter was in fact a *natural* production. Surely also the *manna* which drops from the *tamarisk* bushes cannot be called "the bread of heaven," or be said to have "fallen from heaven with the dew," or to have been "rained upon the ground," as Josephus, speaking of the *manna* of *Sinai*, records it was in his time, in the following account:[80] 'Still also at *this day* all that district is *rained upon*, after the same manner as the Deity, favouring Moses, then sent down the sustenance: and the Hebrews name this food, *manna.*'

The *tamarisk manna* is nevertheless of considerable interest as occurring in the *Sinaic region;* and we may even consider, with great probability, that it formed a *portion* of the food of the Israelites whilst they were in that region; because *that manna*, falling

[80] Ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὕεται πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωϋσῆ χαριζόμενον τὸ Θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν διατροφήν· καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο Μάννα. Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. III. cap. 1. s. 6. Likewise, Antoninus Martyr (about A.D. 560–570) has thus described the heavenly dew, or *manna:* "inter Sina et Oreb est vallis in quâ cunctis temporibus descendit *ros* de cœlo quem *manna* appellant, et coagulatur, et fit tanquam granum mastici."—Itiner. p. 29.

in drops from the shrubs during the night upon the ground, might have been picked up by them, when engaged in gathering the *real manna*.

Some persons may possibly assert, in objection to these views and discoveries of Professor Lepsius, that not only the very nature of that part of the Peninsula may, during the lapse of more than three thousand three hundred years, since the arrival of the Israelites from Egypt, have much altered,[81] but also that the aspect of the Wilderness of *Sin*, with its mountains, its neighbouring valleys, and its springs, may be altogether changed; while its productions may have entirely perished. I will, however, reply to these persons, that Nature herself, in such a climate and amongst such primitive rocks,—chiefly granite,—without the slightest traces of volcanic action,[82] is unlikely to have changed in any great degree; and that the same sun which shone with brilliant splendour and heat on the Israelites of the past ages, still shines with intense power on the Ishmaelites of these days. I will in like manner remind them, how exceedingly improbable it is that a district so little civilized and so thinly inhabited can have been much modified by the improvements and alterations of man, particularly where man himself continues unchanged; and that the same sorts of natural productions, as date-trees, the manna-bearing tamarisk and gharkad bushes, caroub, nabek,[83] and acacia trees, grasses and flowers, goats

[81] Mr. George Stephens says of the Sinaic Peninsula, that "there is no part of the world where the face of nature and the natural landmarks have remained so totally *unchanged*."—'Incidents of Travel,' vol. i. p. 252.

[82] This statement of Burckhardt ('Syria,' p. 590) is fully corroborated by the distinguished naturalist Rüppell, in his 'Reise.'

[83] Some travellers consider the *nabek* to be *Rhamnus lotus*, but

and sheep, and desert fowl or quails, are, without doubt, the offspring or descendants of those which originally afforded shade, pasturage, and food to the children of Israel whom Moses led, and to whom he gave drink from the same wells and springs that revive the thirsty wanderers in the present day.

To those philologers and linguists who may wish to examine some of the *inscriptions* in the unknown characters, which exist on Mount *Serbal*, I will state that several are published in pp. 606, 608, and others in pp. 613, 614, from Wadi Alegat, at the foot of that mountain, in Burckhardt's 'Syria.' Niebuhr had previously engraven some from the Peninsula of Mount *Sinai*, in his 'Voyage en Arabie:' these may be seen in Tab. 49 and Tab. 50, tom. i. of that valuable work. And a few are given in M. De Laborde's 'Voyage de l'Arabie,' Plate 10, from the Wadi Mukatteb, or 'Written Valley,' though they cannot be altogether depended upon for their accuracy. Plate 9 represents the manner in which they are seen upon the rocks in that valley. But by far the most extensive collection of the like inscriptions, in those remarkable Shemitic or Oriental characters,[84] was made by the care and labour of the Rev. G. F. Grey, in the Wadi Mukatteb, in the year

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Ehrenberg has figured (Tab. VII. Symb. Phys. *Avium*, Decas I.) a species which he names *R. napeca*, and which, from the similarity of names, I think is intended for it. The fruit of the *nabek* is much used by the Bedouins. The *acacia* mentioned in the text is, I believe, the common 'gum arabic' tree.

[84] In justice to our own travellers, I ought to mention that the first (I believe) of them who brought copies of those *inscriptions* to England was Dr. Richard Pococke, a little more than a century ago: they may be seen engraved in Tabs. 54 and 55, p. 148,

1820. Copies were then made by him from the surface of the red sandstone mountains, even at a great altitude, in that valley, through which there can be no doubt but the Israelites passed on their journey from Egypt to Mount Sinai; and they were accurately published in 1832, in fourteen lithographic plates, in the second volume of the Transactions of this Society. Among these, one in Latin occurs, and several in Greek. Some of the latter record that such a person, adding his own and his father's names, came there; whilst the inscriptions generally begin, —ΜΝΗϹΘΗ—*memoraturus sit.*

Certain of the proper names are of Grecian origin, as Eneas, Halitus, &c., but the greater number appear to have been *Hebrew*[85] ones, viz. Moses, Aaron, Zacharias, Samuel, &c.; and interspersed here and there are rude crosses and Christian monograms, showing that some have been the work of Greek Christians. However, I feel convinced that not a few of the inscriptions are, as I have before observed, more ancient than others; and I also imagine that the remarkable Shemitic characters are *not* all of the *same* dialect: some seem to me to have an analogy to the Samaritan and Syriac, while others approach the Cuphic letters and mode of writing. But one of Mr. Grey's inscriptions

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vol. i. of his 'Description of the East,' London, 1743. But as they are given in so confused and crowded a manner, the characters, even if perfect, cannot be made out without the greatest difficulty. Dr. Robinson, however, writes, "Pococke's copies have hardly a trace of resemblance" to the originals; "nor are those of Niebuhr much better." He continues, "Having Burckhardt's Travels with us, we compared some of his copies with the originals, and found them tolerably exact,"—(vol. i. p. 167.)

[85] Robinson says, incorrectly, "No *Jewish* nor Christian names are found among the inscriptions,"—vol. i. p. 555.

(No. 1, Plate 13) I strongly suspect is *bilingual*, and probably may hereafter assist in interpreting the strange letters; because Mr. Grey tells us the *original* inscriptions "are all executed with the same instrument, *punched in a series of holes;* and all the *modern* are *cut* with a different instrument, and in a *different* manner;" and the *whole* of that inscription (No. 1),—both the strange and Greek characters,—being *not cut*, but *dotted out*, the execution of all appearing the same, the correspondence of the three Greek lines with the unknown three, and their being enclosed in lines as represented in that Plate, afford me good reasons for entertaining such a suspicion. The Greek is as follows:

ΜΝΗCΘΗΑΥΤΟCΕΡCΟΥ
ΚΑΛΙΤΑΙΟΥΜΑΡΟΥ
ΕΝ◯ΛΘΟΙ

It is thus restored in Boeckh's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' edit. Joannes Franzius, vol. iii. p. 275, (Berol. 1844.)

*Μνησθῇ Αὔλος Ἔρσου Καλιταίου Μάρου*
*ἐνθάδε ἐλθών.*

In this reading I nearly agree; except in the first proper name, which is clearly ΦΑΥCΤΟC, and not ΑΥΛΟC, because the monogram Τ signifies C and T; and the ΑΥ is probably an abbreviated form of writing ΦΑΥ,—Υ perhaps meaning both Φ and Υ; or else the *digamma* is understood. As the broken part, which is supplied by Boeckh, *θάδε ἐ*, is, I think, too long for the space that is left for it in the Plate, I therefore insert only ΘΑΕ; also as the penultimate letter Ο is in a different character from the square □, or

*omicron*, used in the other lines, I conclude that Boeckh is right, and that it is in fact a portion of an *omega*, Ω, and the last upright line is the beginning of an N. My restoration is this:

ΜΝΗCΘΗΦΑΥCΤΟCΕΡCΟΥ
ΚΑΛΙΤΑΙΟΥΜΑΡΟΥ
ΕΝΘΑΕΛΘΩΝ

'Faustus (the son) of Ersus Calitæus Marus,
Coming here, should have been remembered.'

Mr. Grey adds, "over the first line is the figure of a man with uplifted hands,"—which doubtless marks that the person was a *pilgrim* in the attitude of prayer; and "under the Greek is a horse;"—this may denote that he journeyed on *horseback:* so in several other places are more commonly the figures of camels,[86] meaning, most likely, that the persons named in the inscriptions were brought there by those animals. These, then, tend to show that many of the inscriptions were done by *pilgrims* and *foreigners*, and not, as Lepsius is convinced, by a Christian pastoral people, who were resident in the Peninsula.

The earliest mention of the inscriptions in the strange Shemitic characters was made by Cosmas Indopleustes, in his 'Topographia Christiana,' about the year 530 after Christ: I give an extract from it here, since it is extremely interesting; and likewise a translation.

*Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναΐου ὄρους ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτόθι, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πεζεύσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ·*

[86] The camel, or rather the dromedary, which is used for riding, is named in Arabic *hadjim*, because it is the *hadj*, or pilgrim's, *bearer*.

*ἃ τινα καὶ τινὲς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγοῦντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως,—ἄπαρσις τοῦδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἔτει τῷδε, μηνὶ τῷδε.*[87]

'Wherefore there are to be seen in that *wilderness of Mount Sinai*, in all the *halting-places*, all the stones which *have rolled down* from the mountains there, *inscribed* with sculptured *Hebrew*[88] letters, as I myself, having visited on foot those places, bear witness. Which inscriptions also, certain *Jews*, who had read them, related to me, that they were written thus—A journey of some person, of such a tribe (*country*), in such a year, and such a month.'

This account agrees in a very singular manner with that of Mr. Grey,—written after a lapse of thirteen centuries,—who has described, in 1830, that "very large *fragments* of the rock have *fallen down* into the valley, and are there found, with some of the *inscriptions upon them*. The whole of the original inscriptions are on the shady side of the valley, denoting the probability of their having been the work of a passing body or bodies of *travellers*, while *resting*."[89]

Burckhardt, too, found many similar *inscriptions* in a neighbouring valley, the Wadi el Naszb: he says (p. 477) much the same:—"They are upon the surface of *blocks which have fallen down from the cliff*, and some of them appear to have been engraved while the pieces still formed a part of the main rock." . . . . . Some were "lying near the *resting-place*, at about an hundred paces from the spot *where travellers usually alight*."

[87] Κόσμα Χριστ. Τοπ. in 'Collect. Nov. Patr.' vol. ii. p. 205.

[88] Not strictly with *Hebrew*, I apprehend, but with *Hebraistic* letters. See *ante*, note 60.

[89] 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. p. 147.

Further, the writer of a notice of the Prussian traveller's tour in the 'Classical Museum' for April, 1847, p. 120, wishes "that the author had come a little more strongly out, both on the capability of the *Israelites to write* the inscriptions, and on the *improbability* of their having done it." I must remark that Lepsius on this subject thus clearly expresses himself: "No one, now at least, in combating the old view, that the inscriptions are traceable to the *Israelites*, would make use of the argument, that they did *not* possess at that time a complete system of written characters, which was in frequent use. From the then state of things in Egypt, as we are now acquainted with them, and of which the Jews must have been cognizant in the fertile province of Goshen, it is *wholly incredible* that they did *not* possess a running-hand, as well as the Egyptians; however improbable it may be that, as has been supposed, they borrowed it in any degree from the hieratic character of the Egyptians. They were accustomed likewise to the Egyptian practice of making inscriptions on the rocks, and might have imitated them."[90] Cosmas, indeed, has observed on the *writing* of the *Hebrews;* and he has also testified, that the Sinaic inscriptions were in a *Hebraistic* language, and that certain *Jews* had read them; and this authority goes far to strengthen the supposed affinity of some of these strange characters with the *Samaritan*, or with the *Syriac*, dialects.

Professor Beer, of Leipsic, had for several years previous to 1839 given much attention to the deciphering of the inscriptions; and I find from a note

[90] Lepsius's Tour, p. 88.

by Dr. Robinson,[91] that the Professor considers the *characters*, which are written from right to left, to belong to a *distinct* and independent *alphabet*,—some being wholly peculiar, and others having an affinity with the Palmyrene, and partly the Estrangelo (*Syriac*) and Cuphic. The inscriptions consist only of proper names, sometimes beginning דכיר—*memoratus sit;* and the word בַּר *bar*, or בֶּן *ben*, meaning a *son*, often occurs between the names. The ends of some may be so read as to affirm that the writers were *pilgrims*, —in part *Christians;* but *no date* having yet been found, the *age* of the inscriptions is unknown.

After all, as far as I can learn, but little has up to this time been discovered towards the *real* interpretation of these characters; and since Dr. Lepsius "made a valuable collection of several hundreds of the most legible inscriptions," I will express a hope that a more correct knowledge of their language, contents, and age, may ere long be obtained.

[91] 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 553.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

[1] To p. 197, line 16.—Burckhardt says ('Syria,' p. 612), in the Valley Alegat stand remains of small buildings called by the Arabs '*Cobur el Cofar:*' as these are at no great distance from the ruined convent *Deir Sigillye*, the spot may probably be identified with that named by Tillemont, from Ammonius, *Cobar* or *Codar*.

[2] To p. 216, line 3.—Eusebius describes the *Wilderness of Sin* as follows: Σὶν, ἔρημος ἡ μεταξὺ παρατείνουσα τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου Σινὰ: and St. Jerome thus,—"Sin, desertum inter Mare Rubrum et solitudinem Sina." (St[i] *Hieronymi* Op. tom. ii. p. 479.) Compare with these the accounts in Exodus xvi. 1, and Numbers xxxiii. 10, 11.

Professor Lepsius places *Elim* at the lower fertile part of the

Wadi *Schebekeh* (see 'Tour,' p. 50, 51, and Burckhardt's 'Syria,' p. 625), and he considers that the present name of *Zelime* may be a corruption of *Elim*. So, I think it likely that the name of the station of the Israelites, *Dophkah*, or, as Lepsius (p. 73) writes it, *Daphka*, recorded in the Book of Numbers (xxxiii. 12), has been corrupted into the modern appellation of *Dhaph'ra*. Burckhardt (p. 623) says, Wadi el *Dhafary* "furnishes the only sweet water between Tor and Suez:" it is distant four or five miles from the Bay of Birket Faroun to the east, and is not far from the bottom of Wadi Naszb. Since the names of places in Arabia are generally written as they are pronounced, and are therefore often transcribed very differently, the word *Dhafary* may be also written *Dhaph'ri*, or indeed *Dhaph'ra*, which bears in sound much resemblance to the Scriptural *Daphka*. And the name of the last encampment before the Israelites reached Rephidim, *Alush*, which is mentioned in the next two verses of the same chapter of Numbers, is clearly at this day retained in that of Wadi *El Ush;* which Burckhardt (p. 484) has written *Osh*, and Robinson (vol. i. p. 125, compared with p. xv. Pref.) pronounces *Eush*. This valley is situate a few miles to the north-east of the place where *Alush* is laid down in the accompanying map. I have followed the Prussian traveller in placing the stations of the Israelites, on their 'goings out' from Egypt to Mount Sinai, the *same* as he has done in his large map, not having had time to consider them with sufficient attention. But it has occurred to me, since the preceding pages were printed, upon a cursory examination of "the journeys of the children of Israel," as particularly detailed in the 33rd chapter of Numbers, where "Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord," that they did *not keep*, on their road from Elim to Sinai, during *all* that journey, *within* the Wadi *Sin*, i. e. the valley, or *Wilderness, of Sin*—which was previously described in *general* terms in Exodus xvi. 1, as *being between* those two localities,—including, as I suppose, the Wadis El Sittere, Mukatteb, and the north-western portion of Wadi Firan about as far as El Hessue. Indeed it is expressly stated in Exodus xvii. 1, that the Israelites "journeyed *from* the Wilderness of Sin, *after their journeys*, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim;" the *details of these journeys* being *afterwards* fully given by Moses in Numbers xxxiii. 10–14, and where, especially in verse 12, it is written, that "they took their journey *out of the* Wilderness of Sin," and encamped *first* in Dophkah, or Daphka, and

*next* in Alush. Hence, if Wadi *El Ush*, situate to the east of the Wilderness of Sin (properly so called), be the *Alush* of Scripture,—which is extremely likely,—then the Israelites would probably proceed from that Wadi into the Wadi Firan by some north-eastern pass or valley,—perhaps Wadi *Ahdar*, or *Akhdhar*, which is the most extensive,—into the upper part of the former valley, near its junction with Wadi el Sheikh; and I should then place *Rephidim* near the outlet of Wadi *Rattame*, or *Rettame*,—the *Ertama* of Burckhardt (p. 604). The adjoining valley, *Wadi Rim*, or, as Lepsius has given the entire name, *Wadi Rim el Mehasi*, may not impossibly be an abbreviation of *Rephidim ha Massah* (see Exodus xvii. 7); *Mehasi*, or *Mahasi*, being corrupted from the Hebrew word *Massah*, which signifies *Temptation*.

The spot where Moses caused the water to flow from "the rock in Horeb" is very possibly that place, a little further to the west of Wadi Rattame, where the limpid stream still continues to gush out in a wonderful manner (Lepsius, pp. 27 and 74). Here also the Amalekites might have *come* from their own possessions and dwellings *at*, or *near Pharan*, and fought with the Israelites: Moses, standing "on the top of the hill," not unlikely of that which is now called *El Bueb* (ibid. p. 24), caused Israel to prevail by the holding up of his hands. Afterwards, "they departed from Rephidim," and proceeding westwards, they "pitched in the Wilderness of Sinai" (Exodus xix. 2, and Numbers xxxiii. 15).

And it is worth remarking that Burckhardt observed many *inscriptions* in the *same* remarkable characters as *those* before noticed from Wadi Mukatteb (a part of the *Wilderness* of *Sin*), in the Wadis Naszb, Berah communicating with El Ush, Ahdar, Rattame, &c. (see 'Syria,' pp. 478, 484, 487, 604); and that he likewise noticed some very ancient substructions, and remains of buildings, made with solid and uncemented stones, nearly where the Wadis Sheikh and Firan meet, and also in the upper portion of Wadi Rim. (Ibid. pp. 602 and 605.)

[3] To p. 218, line 9.—In determining the *position* of *Mount Sinai*, since Scripture has only recorded that it "is in *Arabia*,"—Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ,—(Galatians iv. 25), to those who would look for it in Arabia *Deserta*, or in the north of Arabia *Felix*, I will observe that *Eusebius*, and his translator *St. Jerome*, as far as I am aware, are the earliest writers from whom any *definite* accounts of its *situation* can be collected. Much confusion has generally prevailed by considering

# ɜRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

ON

# SYRACUSE.

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Y WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, V.P., F.R.S.

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l February 24, March 9, and March 23, 1848.

ndicating the former existence of a
that situation. In this wall were
æ,[1] or gate, so called as leading to
which the chief city was Acragas,
grigentum. The vicinity of the
he marsh Lysimeleia or Syraco,[2]
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e First, in the year B.C. 406, re-

these gates Cicero discovered the tomb of
entified by means of a copy of the epitaph in
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remarkable, though very common example
ocal monuments, where ignorance prevails:
in one of its lowest conditions. Fifty-five
made a Roman colony by Augustus, and
ee its importance. The following is Cicero's
g discovery.

cujus ego quæstor ignoratum ab Syracusanis
rent, septum undique et vestitum vepribus et
lchrum: tenebam enim quosdam senariolos,
esse inscriptos acceperam; qui declarabant,
eram esse positam et cylindrum. Ego autem,
oculis, (est enim ad portas Agragianas magna
) animadverti columellam non multum e
inerat sphæræ figura et cylindri. Atque
rant enim prin es mecum) dixi me illud
quærerem. missi cum falcibus multi
m. Quo cur efactus esset aditus, ad
pparebat e ia, exesis posteriori-
obilissima Græciæ
acutissimi mo-
set."—Cicer.

## VII.—TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES ON SYRACUSE.

It is proposed in the following pages to illustrate some of the principal events of Syracusan history by means of the accompanying plan of the ancient site and surrounding country, which has been reduced from an Ordnance Survey, conducted, in the year 1808, by the Officers of the Royal Engineers under the command of Captain (now Lieut.-General) Thackeray. Many additions have been made to the original plan, and the ancient names have been adapted to the present memoir.

It is not often that the topographer of Ancient Greece can refer with confidence to a Roman for his testimonies; but in the instance of Syracuse we possess, in Cicero, the description of a learned and enlightened *αὐτόπτης*. His residence at Syracuse preceded by four years his description of the city in one of the Verrine Orations, and it is so accurate as to render unnecessary any discussion in proof of the general topography, and even of many of the subordinate localities.

In regard to the extant antiquities of Syracuse, I shall confine myself to such remarks as may appear to be connected with its history or illustrated by its topography, referring for a delineation and description of

The foundations, and in some places two or three of the lower courses of the ancient walls of Syracuse, are to be observed throughout the greater part of the circuit of cliffs which surround its tabular hill; it is only towards the south, where Achradina[1] terminated in the sea or bordered upon Ortygia and Neapolis, that these vestiges cease to be traceable. Nor can any of the walls of Neapolis be distinctly traced, except towards the western extremity, where their direction is sufficiently in agreement with that of the cliffs which terminate the lower or north-western platform of the Syracusan heights, immediately adjacent to the marshy plain, to leave little doubt as to the extent of Neapolis on its southern side. At the western extremity Neapolis was very narrow, its walls having formed an acute angle with the wall of Epipolæ between Tremiglia, and where a natural opening in the cliffs seems anciently to have contained a gate leading from Neapolis into Epipolæ. The southern wall of Neapolis must have abutted at its eastern end on the western wall of Achradina, and apparently nearly at a right angle, for the wall of Achradina appears to have descended from a shoulder of the cliffs near the amphitheatre and adjacent latomiæ, directly to the shore of the great harbour; there being observable between the former point and the shore heaps of stones and many squared

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Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum, quod iste (Verres), si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre."—Cicero in Verr. Act. II. 4, c. 52, 53.

[1] Acradina is the form generally employed by the Latins, but the Sicilian Diodorus, who writes Ἀχραδίνη, is a better authority, and seems to show that the Ἀχράδες or wild pear-trees, some of which are still to be seen on the heights of Achradina, were the origin of the name.

blocks, sufficiently indicating the former existence of a large ancient wall in that situation. In this wall were the Portæ Agragianæ,[1] or gate, so called as leading to the part of Sicily of which the chief city was Acragas, or Agragas, or Agrigentum. The vicinity of the Agragian gate to the marsh Lysimeleia or Syraco,[2] which occupied a great part of the plain at the head of the harbour, is shown by an occurrence in history. When Dionysius the First, in the year B.C. 406, re-

[1] On the outside of these gates Cicero discovered the tomb of Archimedes, which he identified by means of a copy of the epitaph in his possession; though on the monument he found nearly one-half of the lines obliterated by the effects of time and neglect. The occurrence furnishes a remarkable, though very common example of incuriousness as to local monuments, where ignorance prevails: and Syracuse was then in one of its lowest conditions. Fifty-five years afterwards it was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and recovered in some degree its importance. The following is Cicero's account of his interesting discovery.

"... Archimedem: cujus ego quæstor ignoratum ab Syracusanis cum esse omnino negarent, septum undique et vestitum vepribus et dumetis, indagavi sepulchrum: tenebam enim quosdam senariolos, quos in ejus monumento esse inscriptos acceperam; qui declarabant, in summo sepulchro sphæram esse positam et cylindrum. Ego autem, cum omnia collustrarem oculis, (est enim ad portas Agragianas magna frequentia sepulchrorum,) animadverti columellam non multum e dumis eminentem: in quâ inerat sphæræ figura et cylindri. Atque ego statim Syracusanis (erant enim principes mecum) dixi me illud ipsum arbitrari esse, quod quærerem. Immissi cum falcibus multi purgarunt et aperuerunt locum. Quo cum patefactus esset aditus, ad adversam basim accessimus: apparebat epigramma, exesis posterioribus partibus versiculorum, dimidiatis fere. Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset."—Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. 5, 23.

[2] Thucyd. 7, 53. Theocr. Id. 16, 34. Stephan. in Συρακοῦσαι. Syraco was probably a local name existing at the time of the Greek colonization.

covered possession of Syracuse, he effected his entrance into the city by setting fire to the gate of Achradina, by means of reeds which had been collected from the neighbouring marsh for the purpose of burning lime.[1]

To the north-westward of the theatre, between it and the elevated level of Epipolæ, a rocky space, two or three hundred yards in breadth, is full of sepulchral excavations in the rocks, some of which are faced with Doric fronts, consisting of two columns and a pediment. A winding road, cut also in the rock, descended from Epipolæ through this cemetery, and passed along the summit of the theatre into the lower part of Neapolis. In the fifth century B. C., when the walls of Syracuse included no more than Ortygia and Achradina, these rocks, having been not far from the exterior of the walls, were exactly such a situation as the Greeks were accustomed to employ for their places of interment. When Epipolæ, Tycha, and Neapolis were comprehended in the general enclosure, this rocky district was necessarily included within the city; and if we may judge from the apparent date of some of the monuments, the place still continued after that change to be employed for sepulchral purposes, although it was contrary to the ordinary usages of Greece to have sepulchres within the walls. But the same may be observed at Agrigentum, where, as at Syracuse, it was undoubtedly caused by the enlargement of the city.

On the hill which rises above the theatre and the latomiæ, or ancient quarries, which are now known by the names 'il Orecchio di Dionysio' and 'il Paradiso,' stood the colossal statue of Apollo, surnamed Temenites from the *Τέμενος*, or sacred portion of land

[1] Diodor. 13, 113.

which was attached to it.[1] Hence also the name Temenitis, which continued to be applied to the height[2] and suburb contiguous to the north-western side of Achradina until the time when, together with the entire lower platform, they became, under the name of Neapolis, a portion of the city Syracusæ.

Achradina was distinctly divided by nature into an upper portion to the north-east, adjacent to the outer sea, and a lower in the opposite direction, adjacent to the two harbours of Syracuse.

The foundations, and in some places two or three courses of the western wall of upper Achradina, which was the outer wall of Syracuse prior to the reign of Dionysius, may still be traced, to the extent of a mile and a quarter, in a direct line from their northern extremity near the creek of Santa Bonagia or Panagia; and they furnish, together with the vestiges of the western wall of lower Achradina, already noticed, sufficient evidence as to the extent and general direction of the walls of Achradina on the land side: towards the sea, foundations of its walls are to be seen in many places along the crest of the cliffs; and thus we have evidence of the extent of Syracuse when it consisted of no more

[1] This statue, described by Cicero as signum pulcherrimum et maximum, and which was saved only by its magnitude from the spoliation of Verres, was taken to Rome by Tiberius, as we learn from Suetonius, who describes it as Apollinem Temeniten et amplitudinis et artis eximiæ. Naxus and Gela had, like Syracuse, statues of Apollo on the outside of their walls. In each of these places the Apollo was surnamed Archagetes. (Stephan. in Νάξος, Γέλα.) The Apollo of Syracuse had probably the same epithet, as well as that of Temenites. Apollo was the ἀρχαγέτης, Archias the οἰκίστης of Syracuse. Stephanus describes Τέμενος as τόπος τις τῆς Σικελίας ὑπὸ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς πρὸς ταῖς Συρακούσαις.

[2] ἡ ἄκρα Τεμενίτις.—Thucyd. 7, 3, § 3.

than Ortygia, Achradina, and the suburb Temenitis. Thucydides, writing in those times, describes Syracuse as divided into an inner and an outer town (ἡ ἐντὸς καὶ ἡ ἔξω πόλις), making no mention of the names Ortygia and Achradina. Epipolæ, according to the same historian, derived its name from its situation ἐπιπολῆς (above) the city: he adds, that it was adjacent to the city, rising in a slope above it, and commanding a view of every part of it (χωρίου ἀποκρήμνου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς κειμένου.—ἐξηρτῆται γὰρ τὸ χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω.)[1] Epipolæ, therefore, at the time of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 414), was the name applied to the whole table-height, bordered by cliffs, which rises in a slope from the site of *Achradina* to the summit of Mongibéllisi. Dionysius the First, soon after that war, began to enclose this height, and in process of time there arose upon it two of the five great quarters of Syracuse, or component 'cities,' as they were called; namely,—Epipolæ at the upper extremity, and Tycha, so called from a *Τυχεῖον* or temple of Fortune, around which this quarter was gradually formed. Tycha was near the northern cliffs of the great Syracusan platform, as seems evident from the fact, that Marcellus, when he had failed in his attack upon Euryalus on the summit of Epipolæ, encamped between Tycha and Neapolis;[2] whence likewise it appears that in the year B. C. 212, Tycha, whatever may have been its dimensions more anciently, was then separated from Neapolis to the southward by a vacant space in the middle of the great Syracusan platform. To the east, Tycha was bounded by a hollow, which lies between it and the upper

[1] Thucyd. 6, 96, § 1, 2. [2] Liv. 25, 25.

Achradina. The latter height was separated by a wall from lower Achradina, and thus formed a second citadel of Syracuse, as becomes manifest from some occurrences in history which will be noticed hereafter. In the time of Marcellus, and still more in that of Cicero, Syracuse, although it still preserved great remains of its former magnificence, was much reduced from its autonomous condition, as indeed we may infer from the Orator's division of it into four cities; whereas more anciently it had consisted of five: so that Epipolæ appears at that time to have been deserted. Syracuse had declined still further, when it was colonized by Augustus, and when its dimensions appear to have been nearly the same as in the Peloponnesian war.

"In our time," says Strabo,[1] "when Pompey had ruined many cities, and Syracuse among the number, Augustus Cæsar sent thither a colony, and occupied a large portion of the ancient site: formerly it consisted of five cities, and was surrounded with walls, 180 stades in circumference, which were filled with habitations. But Augustus thought it better to re-establish the part which is adjacent to Ortygia, and which has still the dimensions of a respectable city."

In the time of the Peloponnesian war, Syracuse comprehended, as already hinted, no more than two of the four cities mentioned by Cicero,—Ortygia and Achradina; but not many years afterwards (B. C. 402),

[1] Ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ, Πομπηΐου τάς τε ἄλλας κακώσαντος πόλεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, πέμψας ἀποικίαν ὁ Σέβαστος Καῖσαρ, πολὺ μέρος καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ κτίσματος ἀνέβαλε. Πεντάπολις γὰρ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν, ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίων ἔχουσα τὸ τεῖχος. Ἅπαντα μὲν δὴ τὸν κύκλον ἐκπληροῦν τοῦτον οὐδέν ἔδει· τὸ δὲ συνοικούμενον τὸ πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ μέρος ᾠήθη δεῖν οἰκίσαι βέλτιον, ἀξιολόγου πόλεως ἔχον περίμετρον. —Strabo, p. 270.

Dionysius I. raised a wall along the northern cliffs of the great Syracusan platform;[1] and in this state of defence Epipolæ remained for a century, the side towards the Anapus having apparently been thought sufficiently protected by its woods and rocks; but in the year 309 B. C. the Carthaginians under Hamilcar, whose army was stationed around Polichne, having penetrated through those natural defences into Epipolæ, where they were defeated chiefly by means of an attack upon their left from Euryalus,[2] the expediency of completing the artificial protection of the southern side of Syracuse must have become evident. The exact time at which this part of the defences was built cannot be found in history, but nothing is more likely than that it was one of the numerous works of Agathocles, during whose absence in Africa the Carthaginians had made their attack. It appears that about ninety years before this event, and ten years after the accession of Dionysius I. to power, Neapolis and Temenitis still formed an open suburb of Achradina (*τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς προάστειον*);[3] for in that year the suburb Temenitis was taken, and its temples of Ceres and Cora plundered by the Carthaginians under Himilco, whose head-quarters, like those of Hamilcar ninety years afterwards, were at Polichne, and whose fleet was, on that occasion, in possession of the great harbour.[4] As Hamilcar in 309 did not occupy Neapolis, but scaled the southern cliffs of Epipolæ, in order to arrive at the walls of Syracuse, it seems evident, that between the years 396 and 309 Neapolis had been

[1] Diodor. 14, 18.

[2] Diodor. 20, 29. Cf. Plutarch. in Timoleon 21, who describes this part of Syracuse as the strongest (*ἡ βιαιότατον ἦν*).

[3] Diodor. 14, 63.

[4] Id. 11, 26.

fortified. We can hardly doubt that it was one of the works of Dionysius I., who, in the year 385 B. C., had, among other magnificent constructions executed by him, surrounded Syracuse with walls of such an extent, that it became the greatest of Greek cities.[1] He seems therefore to have enclosed the whole circumference, except a portion of it towards the Anapus.

Of the natural and unvarying features of Syracuse, the fountains and rivers are among the most worthy of notice. Pliny enumerates them in the following words: "Colonia Syracusæ cum fonte Arethusâ, quanquam et Temenitis et Archidemia et Magæa et Cyane et Milichiæ fontes in Syracusano potantur agro." Of these, the two most celebrated, Arethusa and Cyane, are easily recognized. The former is a copious source, issuing below the wall on the western side of Ortygia, not far from its southern extremity. Another stream, which is derived probably from the same subterraneous origin, rises in a large body in the sea, at no great distance: this is now called Occhio della Zilica, the Italian form of an Arabic name. No notice of it is found in any ancient author. The Arethusa owed its fame and mythological sanctity to its having supplied the original Corinthian colony with water; but as soon as Syracuse had extended itself over the adjoining heights, neither the low situation of the fountain nor the quality of the water, which holds some saline matter in solution, would allow the Syracusans to be satisfied with this supply, nor at length with that of the other sources which are found among the heights on the southern side, from whence they flow to the marsh *Lysimeleia*. As at Athens, a quadrangular conduit, excavated in the rock, was

[1] Diodor. 15, 13.

formed to convey a constant stream from distant sources sufficiently elevated to distribute the water to every part of the city. The aqueduct of Syracuse is derived from the *Anapus* not far below Sortino, at a distance of ten miles from Syracuse; it is conducted along the foot of Mount *Hybla*, and from thence under Belvedere and across *Epipolæ*, in the direction of lower *Achradina*, preserving throughout the required declivity. In some places it was so deep below the surface of the ground as to require *spiraglj*, or vertical openings, 100 feet in depth; in others, the conduit met the surface of the ground, and was covered with beams of stone. The mode of construction throughout is similar to that which is found in the aqueducts of some of the principal cities of Greece; from which similarity, as well as by its differing from Roman aqueducts, which were generally formed in a line as nearly direct as possible, and carried over valleys upon arches, the aqueduct of Syracuse is evidently a work of autonomous Syracuse, and older probably than the Peloponnesian war; for we are told by Thucydides (6, 100) that the Athenians, when they had established themselves on Epipolæ, which is traversed by the aqueduct, destroyed the subterraneous channels (ὀχετοὺς ὑπονομηδὸν) which supplied the city with water. At the city the aqueduct became double, having one channel above the other, in order to admit of an issue at different heights. Numerous branches were also made from the main conduit for the same purpose of general distribution. The aqueduct still conveys water, the discharge of which is through the ancient theatre, where, in the middle of the cavea, it turns a mill, which is founded upon the seats of the theatre,[1] and

[1] An attempt was made to induce the late king, Ferdinand I., to

discharging itself through the proscenium, traverses the plain to the bay near which it is crossed by a bridge.

As the quarter Temenitis was immediately above the theatre, the ancient fountain of that name was probably one of the principal issues of the aqueduct in that situation, from whence having, since the ruin of this part of Syracuse, taken its natural course, it now follows the hollow formed by the excavation of the theatre, and thus falls in a cascade over its ancient seats.

Another of the fountains named by Pliny, but it is impossible to say which, is probably that which issues at the casino of Tremiglia, so called as being situated at a distance of about three miles from *Ortygia*, or the modern Syracuse. The stream flowing from it, which now forms a large contribution to the marsh *Lysimeleia*, was conveyed by the Romans towards lower Achradina, as appears by the remains of a low-arched conduit, traceable in a direction between the two points along the platform of Neapolis.

The rivers Anapus and Cyane are readily identified by the fact, sufficiently deducible from the narrative of Thucydides, but more directly attested by Ovid,[1] that these streams united their waters, and flowed in a single body into the bay of Syracuse. The Anapus, composed of numerous torrents, which have their origin in the mountains to the north-west of Syracuse, is turbid, as rivers formed by torrents generally are, and

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authorize the removal of the mill, but unfortunately it belonged to a noble who had better interest with his majesty than the antiquaries of Syracuse. When the king visited the place, he remarked, "Un molino val più d'un gradino;" and this royal joke sealed the fate of the theatre, which still continues to be the bed of a river.

[1] "Quâque suis Cyanen miscet Anapus aquis."—Ep. ex Ponto II. 10, v. 26.

it contains little water, except in rainy seasons, being copiously drained for the turning of mills and the irrigation of fields. The deep-seated springs and pellucid blue waters (*κυανὰ ὕδατα*) of the Cyane flow in a deep channel over a sandy bottom, and are bordered with aquatic plants, particularly the papyro, or Cyperus papyrus. This plant not being found in a native state in any other place in Greece or Italy, was originally, perhaps, transplanted hither from Egypt, where, although not found at present,[1] it was common in ancient times, and was cultivated for various uses, of which the most important was the manufacture of paper. The source of the Cyane is a beautiful circular basin of about 50 feet in diameter, between 20 and 30 feet deep, abounding in subaqueous plants, and in fish, particularly the cephalus or mullet: at the bottom are seen some large blocks of stone, which once doubtless encircled the margin of the fountain. On the height above, at a place called Ciane, some vestiges of an ancient building mark probably the site of a temple of the nymph Cyane, and the place of a festival which has been alluded to by Diodorus and Ælian.[2]

The river which flows from the fountain *Cyane* is joined, after a course of a few hundred yards, by a stream from another similar source to the southward.

[1] The Cyperus papyrus, or Papyrus antiquorum, is said to have been recognized in some marshes near Damietta; but I have never met with any traveller, skilled in botany, who had succeeded in finding it. A suspicion may perhaps arise, that the triangular rush of the fountain *Cyane*, a plant not uncommon in the conservatories of England, is different from the paper plant of the Egyptians; but Mr. Stoddart, late Consul at Alexandria, has succeeded in making from the Syracusan plant paper of various degrees of fineness, and some exactly resembling the ancient paper of Egypt.

[2] Diodor. 5, 4. Ælian. Var. Hist. 2, 33.

The former is now called Pisma, the latter Pismotta: this was undoubtedly one of the fountains *in Syracusano agro*, named by Pliny. The united stream from Pisma and Pismotta is now known, at least among the uneducated peasants and boatmen, by the name of 'Anapo, the *Anapus* itself being called the river of Sortino, a change of the same kind as occurred at Troy, where the Simoeis of Homer is the Scamander of the later Greeks.[1]

[1] See 'Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor,' p. 291, where, in favour of the hypothesis that the river Méndere is the ancient *Simoeis*, and Bunárbashi the site of *Troy*, I have insisted on a fact well known to geographers, namely, the frequent occurrence, in the progress of ages, of changes in the courses and names of rivers near the sea, and in particular that "the two branches of a river are often confounded with one another, or with the united stream, or are transferred from the one to the other." The Anapus and river of Cyane might have been adduced among the other examples of this fact. Fazello (de Rebus Siculis, Panormi, 1558, p. 106) confirms the modern name of the Anapus to have been in his time that which I have stated, by the remark, that after the junction of the branch from Sortino with that which descends from Palazzuolo, Cassaro, and Ferla, the united stream assumes the name of River of Sortino (Sortini nomen, priore relicto, suscipit, ac deinceps agrum Syracusanorum alluens, &c.). In the time of Cluverius, who, although an ultramontane, was well acquainted with Sicily and a correct observer, the Anapus was named Alféo (Anapus amnis hodie accolarum simplicitate, vulgari vocabulo Alféo dictus. (P. Cluver. Sicil. Ant. p. 175. Lugd. Bat. 1619). It is true that in the most modern maps we find the name Anapus restored to the river of Sortino in the Italian form Anapo; but this is the effect of an improved geography and archæology which has not yet been adopted by the uneducated. A similar correction of names is now rapidly occurring in Greece; and it seems certain that no such name as Anapo, as a modern name, was known in the times of Fazello and Cluwer. It is curious to remark that 'Anapo, being a Greek name (Ἄναπος), is pronounced by accent and not by quantity (Anāpus): in like manner Κατάνα, in Latin Catăna, is now Catánia; Τάρας, Τάραντος, in Latin Tarentum, is Táranto, like Κόρινθος, Λάρισσα in Greek, pronounced Kórintho, Lárissa.

Another of the Plinian fountains is probably that named Cefalino, situated a mile to the north-east of *Cyane*, and which discharges its water into the *Anapus* above its junction with the river of *Cyane*.

Syracuse, although, like its metropolis Corinth, it flourished twice, once as a Greek city, and again, though with diminished lustre, as a Roman colony, did not resemble Corinth in having an interval of utter desolation, and was probably never so low in population as it is at present. To the Roman period belong the ruins of the amphitheatre, of some baths and aqueducts, and of a cistern near the entrance of Ortygia, as well as some part of the catacombs, which, like the similar excavations at Rome, Naples, and Alexandria, were begun in more ancient times, and continued under the Roman government. At Syracuse it is likely that they are principally of the Hellenic period, on account of the much larger population of those times. It is easy to perceive that the Roman constructions in general are on a much smaller scale than those of Hellenic Syracuse. Not the least remarkable among the latter are the foundations, and in many parts a few courses of the walls, which in a circuit of thirteen miles followed the sinuosities of the cliffs which encircle the site of Syracuse. To these are to be added the inner wall of Achradina already mentioned, and vestiges of other interior enclosures, and of many public buildings in various parts of the site. But the most important ruins of Hellenic times are the castle of *Euryelus* (*Dor.* Euryalus), now called Mongibéllisi, on the summit of *Epipolæ;* and in lower Syracuse the ruins of the theatre, and of the temples of Minerva and of Diana, to which may be added, as works of the elder Syracuse, the aqueduct already

described, the quarries, and many sepulchral excavations.

The ancient works at Mongibéllisi[1] are extremely interesting, as affording one of the best examples of a Greek fortress serving for a citadel, and of the modes adopted by the Greeks for protecting the entrance of a great city on one of its most important points. The entrance was by two contiguous gates,[2] situated at the end of an approach between two converging walls, the access to which was exposed on the right or unshielded side of the enemy to the northern long side of the fortress. Large solid towers afforded flanking defence where it was wanted. The fortress had a double enclosure, the inner being of an irregular shape, the outer a long quadrangle, which, with its outworks, projected about 200 yards beyond the converging approach to the double gate. The western or outer, which was the narrowest front of the fortress, consisted of four towers of solid regular masonry connected by walls of equal breadth, but lower than the towers, so that balistic or catapeltic engines might be mounted upon the walls between the towers, like cannon in embrasures. In the rock upon which this front of the castle was founded were subterraneous passages communicating by twelve openings from the interior of the fort to a ditch cut in the rock, 25 feet in depth. Within the fortress, and near the battery, is seen a circular excavation, which was the entrance into those passages. The ditch led to the right by

[1] A name compounded of the Italian *monte* and the Arabic *djebel* (mountain). Mongibello is the modern name of Ætna.

[2] Examples of these double gates, one for entrance and one for exit, are found in several Etrurian and Italian ruins, and as late as in the walls of Rome of the time of Aurelian.

another subterraneous passage into a trench having a direction parallel to that of the route by which the converging walls of the gateway were approached. Along this trench there was a succession of places of exit, by means of stairs cut in the rock, and leading up from the passage below; so that in an instant a complete rank of hoplitæ might issue from the fortress and make their appearance on the right flank of an enemy approaching the gate, and, if overpowered, might retreat with equal rapidity, protected from the pursuit of an enemy by the narrowness of the openings and by the construction of the stairs, which were incomplete in the lower part, thus requiring to be ascended from below by short wooden ladders, which might be withdrawn in a retreat. The western front of the castle was protected beyond the ditch by an outwork and a second deep ditch cut in the rock; and there was a similar ditch on the southern side of the western division of the fortress.[1]

These remains are the more worthy of notice as they show that the use of catapeltic engines had produced a mode of fortifying similar to that of modern times. As they evidently belong to a period when the attack and defence of fortified places were in perfection among the Greeks, they may with great probability be considered as having been constructed during the long and flourishing reign of Hieron the Second, who spared no care or expense in improving the defences of Syracuse under the superintendence of

[1] A plan of these works by Mr. Cockerell has been published in Hughes's 'Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania,' i. p. 86; and another, with an elevation of the western front or battery, in the Duke of Serradifalco's 'Antichita della Sicilia,' vol. iv., Plates 26, 27. The annexed plan has been reduced from these authorities.

Archimedes, who, as well on the land side as towards the sea, constructed works adapted to machinery.[1] There is a great probability, therefore, that these are some of the works of that celebrated engineer. It may be true that the catapeltic art (τὸ καταπελτικὸν) was invented or introduced into Sicily as early as the time of Dionysius I.;[2] but as the walls with which that sovereign protected the Syracusan platform on the northern side were said to have been erected in the short space of twenty days,[3] and as Diodorus makes no mention of any fortress in that work, but only of towers at intervals, it is probable that the walls terminated at the western extremity in a tower of greater magnitude, perhaps, than the others,—but a construction undoubtedly far less extensive and elaborate than that of Mongibéllisi, which is not in the style of that early period, and belongs not to the infancy of the catapeltic art, but to the time of its perfection.

Some writers on the topography of Syracuse have supposed the ruins at Mongibéllisi to be those of the ancient Hexapylum or Hexapyla, an opinion chiefly founded on the passage of Diodorus just alluded to, and on the supposition that the openings in the western front of the fortress are some of the six gates indicated by that name. On examining these works, however, it becomes manifest that the openings were not gates, but embrasures for balistic engines. And

[1] "Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa, omnisque vis est eo versa, ut totis viribus terrâ adgrederentur. Sed ea quoque pars eodem omni adparatu tormentorum instructa erat, Hieronis impensis curâque per multos annos, Archimedis unicâ arte."—Liv. 24, 34.

[2] Diodor. 14, 42. Ælian, V. H. 6, 12. Plutarch, Apophth. Lacon, p. 219. Athen. de Machin. p. 4. Ὀξυβελεῖς καταπέλται, for throwing darts, were employed by Dionysius at the siege of Motya. Diodor. 14, 50.

[3] Diodor. 14, 18.

the words of Diodorus (*ἔκρινε* [Dionysius] *δεῖν τειχίσαι τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ᾗ νῦν τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Ἑξαπύλοις ὑπάρχει τεῖχος*) are not less adverse to that opinion: he says—not that Hexapylum was built by Dionysius, but that in his own time there still existed at Hexapylum a part of the original Dionysian enclosure, which doubtless, in the course of the four centuries intervening between the times of Dionysius I. and Diodorus, had undergone a variety of additions and repairs.

The precipitous nature of the whole northern side of the Syracusan platform, as well as its length, agree perfectly with the words of Diodorus: *ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος τετραμμένος ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρκτὸν, ὑπόκρημνος δὲ πᾶς· καὶ διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα δυσπρόσοδος ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν μερῶν . . . . . τὸ μὲν μῆκος κατασκευάσθεν ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα.* The length of the northern side of the Syracusan platform, from the northern extremity of *Achradina* at Santa Panagia to Mongibéllisi, is exactly thirty stades. We may conclude therefore that Hexapylum defended not the gate at Mongibéllisi, which was a natural entrance into the enlarged Syracuse at its western extremity, and cannot be described as in the northern walls, but the no less important point in the northern walls where the road entered the city from Megara, and the maritime parts of Sicily to the northward. And this position of Hexapylum is amply confirmed by Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch,[1] as will more fully appear hereafter.

The etymology of Euryalus or Euryelus (*εὐρὺς ἧλος*, broad nail or knob) is correctly applicable to the *ridge* which terminates Epipolæ to the westward; and the *castle* Euryalus at the western end of that ridge is well described by Livy as situated at the ex-

[1] Polyb. 8, 5. Liv. 24, 21; 25, 24. Plutarch, Marcell. 18.

tremity of Syracuse most distant from the sea.[1] The position of Euryalus is equally well indicated by Thucydides,[2] in whose time it was not fortified, but whose narrative shows that it was a natural point of access to Epipolæ, and that it was distant and unseen from the Syracuse of that time.

Euryalus and Hexapylum, therefore, appear to have been fortresses for the defence of two of the three principal entrances into Syracuse, the former at its western extremity, the latter at that point in the northern side of the Syracusan platform where the maritime road from the northward entered that side. This point, as well from the greater facility of ascent as from its lying in the direct road from Megara along the coast to the central parts of Syracuse, must in all ages have been a little above the harbours now called Stentino and Scala Greca, from whence the road led through Tycha into the agora of Achradina and to Ortygia. As no mention occurs of Hexapylum before the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus, it was probably another of the works for strengthening Syracuse, which Archimedes constructed under the orders of Hieron II. The gate of Achradina, which was the third principal entrance of Syracuse on the land side, may possibly have had some fortress for its defence, though none is mentioned in history. Evidently, however, it was not so much in need of such protection, as the approach to it was narrowed on the one side by the wall of Neapolis, and on the other by the marsh or the sea.

The relative situations of Hexapylum, Tycha, Nea-

[1] "Tumulus est in extremâ parte urbis versus à mari, viæque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaque insulæ, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendos."—Liv. 25, 25. [2] Thucyd. 6, 97, § 2.

polis, and Euryalus, are well indicated by Livy; from whom it appears that Hexapylum led immediately into Tycha,[1] and that when Marcellus had made his way into Epipolæ on the northern side through Hexapylum, he encamped between Tycha and Neapolis, and received the submission of those quarters of Syracuse. Philodemus of Argos, who commanded the garrison of Euryalus, finding himself thus cut off from Achradina, and without hope of succour, yielded the fortress on condition of being allowed to retire unmolested into lower Syracuse with his garrison.[2] Enough therefore, it is hoped, has been stated to show that the names Euryalus, Hexapylum, Neapolis, and Tycha are rightly placed on the map.

Ortygia, according to Thucydides, was originally an island, although in his time a peninsula;[3] and it appears to have been known as 'the island' even when in its latter state.[4] It was in very early times surrounded with a very strong wall,[5] of which remains in several places still exist. Under the Romans, Ortygia seems to have been again a peninsula, and to have remained in that state until the modern works and ditches were made by the engineers of the Emperor Charles V.[6] The transformed isthmus now consists of a hornwork within a crownwork, covering a *front*,

[1] Liv. 24, 21. [2] Liv. 25, 25.

[3] *Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους* (about 733 B.C.) *Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ᾤκισε, Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένῃ, ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν.*—Thucyd. 6, 3, § 2.

[4] Diodor. 14, 7. [5] Diodor. 11, 73.

[6] Fazello relates (p. 83) that he was present in the year 1552, when the engineers of Charles V. cut through the isthmus of Ortygia, and through a Roman aqueduct which crossed it and terminated at the temple of Minerva. An inscription which they discovered showed the aqueduct to have been made by order of the Emperor Claudius.

in the curtain of which are the gates of the modern city. The fortifications built by Charles V. being commanded from Achradina, were unable to resist the Spaniards in 1735. Although the ditches of the place, and its outworks, as we now see them, were all made at that time, it seems evident that Dionysius I. made a communication between the greater and lesser harbour, when he converted the isthmus into a fortress; for we find in all subsequent times not only that Ortygia was generally known by the name of the island (ἡ Νᾶσος, or insula), but that it was distinguished as such from the fortress, which was called the Acropolis of Syracuse,[1] although situated in its lowest part. The ditch must have been of the greatest utility to Dionysius as a communication between the naval arsenal of the lesser harbour, named Λάκκειος, in which he constructed 60 ship-houses, and the arsenal in the great port, where he built 160 ship-houses, most of them capable of containing two ships.[2] Similar accommodation for ships of war had indeed existed in both places in the time of the Athenian expedition,[3] but undoubtedly it was not to be compared to the great works of Dionysius; and as Ortygia was a peninsula at the time of that expedition, we may infer that the communication between the two arsenals was then carried on by means of a diolcus nearly in the position which was afterwards occupied by the western front of the acropolis. The fortress of Dionysius

[1] Liv. 24, 21. Plutarch, Timol. 9; 19. Diodor. 16, 11.

[2] Diodor. 14, 7; 42. By the words κύκλῳ τοῦ νῦν καλουμένου λιμένος (14, 42) Diodorus gives reason to believe that in his time the works, without the shelter of which Lacceius could not have been a safe harbour, were in ruins, and that the great port was the only one in use.

[3] Thucyd. 7, 22, § 1; 25, § 5.

contained his palace and gardens, and the mausoleum erected by his son; its walls comprehended also the arsenal of port Lacceius: on the west or land side it was separated from the city by walls and towers having a great fortified entrance, named Pentapylum, before which Dionysius erected a lofty ἡλιοτρόπιον, or solar instrument, for the measurement of time,[1] as well as extensive bazaars (χρηματιστήρια) and porticoes (στοαί). These formed part of, or were immediately adjacent to the agora of Achradina, or principal agora of Syracuse, which embraced a great part of the shore towards the head of the lesser harbour.[2]

The extent of port Lacceius is shown by the extant remains of a tower on the extremity of a shoal which lies parallel to the northern side of the walls of the modern city, and extends as far as their northern angle. The deep water between this tower and another which existed on the shoals of the shore of Achradina, but of which no remains have yet been discovered, formed the entrance into the harbour, and the interval was so narrow that it might be closed by chains. These were the towers which Agathocles constructed in the lesser harbour, and which were inscribed with his name.[3] Another of the great works of Agathocles was the Hecatontaclinus, or hospital of sixty couches, in Ortygia, which was said to have been struck by lightning by the avenging gods, because it had

[1] Diodor. 14, 7; 15, 74. Plutarch, Timoleon, 22. Dion. 19, 29.

[2] Liv. 24, 22. Diodor. 16, 10. Cicer. Verr. Act. II. 5, 37.

[3] Οἵ τε παρὰ τὸν μικρὸν λιμένα πύργοι, τὰς μὲν ἐπιγραφὰς ἔχοντες ἐξ ἑτερογενῶν λίθων, σημαίνοντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος αὐτοὺς προσηγορίαν Ἀγαθοκλέους.—Diodor. 16, 83. The inscriptions seem to have been formed by means of the insertion of stones differing in colour from the rest of the wall.

been made higher than their temples.[1] In the island stood also the public granary, a building of squared stone, resembling a fortress by its strength and magnitude.[2]

The acropolis continued to be the seat of government under the Romans. The palace, the mausoleum, and the fortifications of Dionysius had been destroyed by Timoleon, who caused buildings adapted to a republican form of government (δικαστήρια) to be erected in their place:[3] but Hieron II. again built a palace in the same situation, which became the residence of the Roman governor after the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus.[4]

Of the principal buildings of the lower part of Achradina adjacent to the acropolis, in or near the agora, namely, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, the Buleuterium, the Prytaneium, from which Verres carried off the Sappho of Silanion, the Dionysian stoæ, and the Timoleonteium, or monument, stoa, and palæstræ of Timoleon,[5] nothing certain can be distinguished. Some ancient remains which have been supposed to have belonged to some of those edifices have rather the appearance of works of Roman times. But it is by no means improbable that the soil of this lowest part of Syracuse is considerably higher than its ancient level, and that excavations would throw some light on its topography, and disinter some of its antiquities.

Among the buildings which contributed to the magnificence of Syracuse were the gymnasia constructed by Dionysius I. on the banks of the Anapus, and in

[1] Diodor. 16, 83. [2] Liv. 24, 21.
[3] Plutarch, Timoleon, 22. [4] Cicero. V. sup. p. 241.
[5] Liv. 24, 22, *seq.* Cicero, Verr. II. 4, 57. Diodor. 14, 7; 41; 16, 83. Plutarch, Timol. c. ult.

the city there were several temples of the gods, built by order of the same enlightened sovereign,[1] who was the second founder of Syracuse, almost as much as Pericles was of Athens. We read also of a gymnasium and several temples in Tycha, besides the temple of Fortune, which gave name to that quarter of the city.[2] The sepulchre of Gelon and his wife Damareta, daughter of Theron of Agrigentum, which was surrounded with seven great towers, appears to have stood on the height beyond the Anapus, as we are told by Diodorus that Himilco, in the year 396 B. C., employed some of its materials, together with those of other sepulchres in that quarter, in building a wall for the defence of his camp at the Olympieium. The towers were destroyed about a century afterwards by Agathocles, who envied the fame of Gelon.[3]

The principal edifices of ancient Syracuse, of which remains are still in existence, are the temples of Minerva and Diana in Ortygia, the theatre in Neapolis, and the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Polichne.

The ancient building which now forms the body of the episcopal church of Santa Maria delle Colonne, in the Piazza of Siragusa, is supposed by the modern Syracusans to have been the temple of Minerva; and in a private house between the piazza and the north-eastern wall of the city there are two columns with their architrave, which are supposed to be remains of the temple of Diana: and both these designations are probably correct; for although Ortygia was peculiarly

[1] Diodor. 15, 13.

[2] Cicero. V. supra, p. 241.

[3] Diodor. 11, 38; 14, 63. The number of stades (200) between Syracuse and the Geloium in the former passage is obviously erroneous; perhaps it should be δεκοκτὼ instead of διακοσίους.

sacred to Diana,[1] Minerva was its guardian, and presided over its arms and counsels, and, as *πολιοῦχος*, would be likely to occupy the highest point of the island, which is the position of the church of Santa Maria. This elevated situation accords also with a custom of the Syracusan sailors on departing from Sicily, as related by Athenæus on the authority of Polemon. They took on board their ships a cup from a hearth or altar of Juno Olympia, situated at the outer extremity of Ortygia; and just as a shield which was on the summit of the temple of Minerva was about to vanish from their sight, they cast the cup, filled with certain sacrificial offerings, into the sea. From the same passage of Athenæus we learn that this hearth of Juno Olympia was near a temple of that goddess, which appears to have occupied, as well as the hearth, a position on the point between the walls and the extreme cape,[2] where now stands the castle of Maniáki.

The temple of Minerva was nearly of the same dimensions as the larger class of colonial Doric hexastyles at Pæstum, Egesta, and Selinus. The columns of the peristyle, of which there were fourteen on the sides, were 6 feet 8 inches in diameter at the base. There were few temples in Greece superior to it in materials or magnificence; it was chiefly remarkable

[1] *Ὀρτυγίαν . . . . ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος.*—Pindar, Pyth. 2, 10.

*Ὀρτυγία*
*Δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος.*—Nem. 1, 2.

[2] *Πολέμων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Μορύχου ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶν, ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερῷ, ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐσχάραν τινὰ εἶναι, ἀφ' ἧς φησὶ τὸν κύλικα ναυπτολοῦσιν ἀναπλέοντες, μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀόρατον ἀσπίδα· καὶ οὕτως ἀφιᾶσιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κεραμέαν κύλικα, καθέντες εἰς αὐτὴν ἄνθεα καὶ κηρία καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἄτμητον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα μετὰ τούτων ἀρώματα.*—Athen. 11, 2. (6.)

for the beauty of its doors of ivory and gold, and for its numerous pictures, of the most valuable of which it was despoiled by Verres.[1] It was built by the Gamori, who governed Syracuse during the whole of the sixth century B.C., and can scarcely be less ancient, therefore, than the middle of that century.[2] The architect was Agathocles, whose consecrated house, named Embrontiæum, built of the same materials as the temple, still existed in the time of Diodorus.[3]

[1] "Ædes Minervæ est in insulâ, de quâ ante dixi, quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit; quæ ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est, non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionum et consuetudinis jura retineret, sed ut a barbaris prædonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathoclis regis in tabulis picta præclare: his autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur . . . . . omnes eas tabulas abstulit; parietes quorum ornatus tot sæcula manserat, tot bella effugerat, nudos ac deformatos reliquit . . . . . Viginti et septem præterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eâdem æde sustulit; in quibus erant imagines Siciliæ regum ac tyrannorum, quæ non solum pictorum artificio delectabant sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cognitione formarum . . . . . Jam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi commemorem? . . . . . Confirmare hoc liquido, judices, possum, valvas magnificentiores ex auro atque ebore perfectiores nullas unquam ullo tempore fuisse . . . . . Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis; ea detrahenda curavit omnia. Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum anguibus, revellit atque abstulit . . . . . bullas aureas omnes ex his valvis, quæ erant et multæ et graves, non dubitavit auferre."—Cicero in Verrem, Act. II. lib. 4, c. 55, 56.

[2] Herodot. 7, 155; Diodor. Exc. lib. 6, p. 549, Wess. The Gamori were in power when Sappho fled from Mytilene to Syracuse, B.C. 596, (*Ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Συρακούσαις δὲ Γωεμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν*, Marmor, Par. lin. 51, 52.) In the speech of Appius Claudius, in 491 B.C., the expulsion of the Gamori is mentioned as a recent event.—Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. 6, 62.

[3] Exc. lib. 6, p. 549. *Τὸ Ἐμβροντιαῖον* was so called because it had been struck by lightning, when Agathocles himself perished in the flames.

According to the antiquaries of Syracuse, the temple of Minerva was consecrated to Christianity in the seventh century of our era, by Zosimus, Bishop of Syracuse, in confirmation of which tradition it is stated that his name is inscribed on an antique vase of white marble, now employed as a baptismal font in the church. In truth, however, this vase was found in the catacombs. Three lines were inscribed upon it, of which the first is illegible; on the second are seen the letters ΣΙΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ; on the third, ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙ.

ΣΙΜΟΥ is probably the remains of *Ζωσίμου*: but this Zosimus, to judge from the form of the letters, could not have lived later than the second century of our era.

Local history is more authentic, perhaps, in attributing the destruction of the roof of the temple of Minerva, and the displacement of many of the columns from their perpendicular, to an earthquake which threw down the *campanile* upon the building, on Easter day, 1100. In front, the ancient structure is entirely concealed by a modern *façade* in the Italian taste. On the sides the ancient columns are partially seen, immured in the modern wall of the church.

Of the temple of Diana there remains nothing more than two adjoining Doric columns with their architrave. This edifice appears to have been somewhat smaller than the temple of Minerva, as the columns are half a foot less in their lower diameter; they are a trifle taller in proportion to their diameter, being $4\frac{1}{3}$ diameters, including the capitals, whereas those of Minerva are $4\frac{1}{4}$. In other respects they have the appearance of a greater antiquity; the intercolumniation is less than the lower diameter of the columns: they have no

more than sixteen flutings, and the height of the architrave is greater than the lower diameter of the column. In the temple of Minerva the intercolumniation is $\frac{1}{10}$ greater than the lower diameter, the height of the architrave is less than that diameter, and there are twenty flutings, the usual number in the Doric order.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius at Polichne stood on a rocky eminence rising from the south-western side of the plain immediately above the junction of the rivers Cyane and Anapus, at a distance of 3000 yards from the site of the Agragian gate of Syracuse, which agrees with the Roman mile and a half at which Livy places it.[1] The monolith shafts of two columns wanting their capitals are still standing. These columns, one of which belonged to one of the fronts, and the other to one of the sides of the building, have sixteen flutings, and a diameter at the base of 5 feet 10 inches, with an intercolumniation of 7 feet. About the year A.D. 1600 there were seven columns standing.[2] The temple appears to have been a hexastyle about 10 feet narrower in front than that of Minerva.

The circumstance of there having been two temples of Jupiter Olympius at Syracuse tends to create a difficulty in its ancient topography. Probably there existed from early times a sanctuary of Jupiter in the agora of Achradina; but as it was not until the reign of Hieron the Second that a magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius was there constructed, the only Olympieium mentioned in history before that time was that of Polichne. This Jupiter having borne the epithet of Urius, or lord of the winds, as well as that

[1] Liv. 24, 33. Cf. Diodor. 13, 7. [2] Cluver. Sicil. Ant. p. 179.

of Olympius, may have been usually distinguished by the former title from the Jupiter Olympius of Achradina after the time of Hieron. It was in the latter Olympieium that were suspended the Gallic and Illyrian spoils which the Roman Senate presented to Hieron.[1] The Olympieium of Polichne was the temple plundered by Verres of its statue of Jupiter Urius, which rivalled, says the orator, the Jupiter Urius of the Bosphorus (in Ponti oris et angustiis), as well as that of Jupiter Hypatus, or Imperator, brought by Flamininus from Macedonia.[2]

The temples of Diana and of Jupiter Urius are probably, as well as that of Minerva, works of the sixth century B. C., during the government of the Gamori.

In every Greek city the prevailing worship, or in other words, the denomination of the temples, may be deduced from its coins. On those of Syracuse we find the heads of Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, Proserpine, Hercules, and Arethusa. There is a coin also which records an action of Leucaspis, who was a Sicilian contemporary of Hercules, and, according to Diodorus, received heroic honours, and who probably had a heroum at Syracuse. In addition to these sanctuaries, we find temples of Bacchus and of Æsculapius alluded to by Cicero, who accuses Verres of having carried away a statue of Pæan from the former, and from the latter a statue of Aristæus, son of Bacchus, the reputed inventor of oil.[3] Two of

[1] Diodor. 16, 83. Cicer. Verr. II. 4, 53. V. sup. p. 241. Liv. 24, 21.

[2] Cicer. *ibid.* cc. 57, 58. There is an epigram from the site of the temple of Jupiter Urius in the Bosphorus, in the British Museum.

[3] Verr. II. 4, 57.

the most renowned of the temples of Syracuse were those of Demeter and Cora, or Ceres, and Proserpine,[1] of which two divinities, the heads occur more frequently than any others on the coins of Syracuse. Their temples were built or renewed by Gelon about the year 480 B. C.[2] They stood in the unfortified suburb of Temenitis, and hence were exposed to be plundered by the Carthaginians in the year 396 B. C., but sustained probably no great damage on that occasion.[3] They were afterwards enclosed within the walls of Neapolis; for Cicero describes Neapolis as containing the theatre, the temenus of Apollo, and the temples of Ceres and Libera.[4] There is reason to believe, therefore, that these temples were situated on the summit of the south-western cliffs, to the westward of the temenus of Apollo.

From some circumstances in the history of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which will be adverted to hereafter, it seems to follow that the temple of Hercules stood at Palazzelli, the highest and most central part of the southern cliffs, where vestiges of some considerable buildings still exist; and there are other foundations excavated in the rock on the summit of the hill immediately above Tremiglie, which resemble the platforms of temples. It appears, therefore, that a succession of magnificent buildings bordered the brow

[1] Κούρη θ' ἁ σὺν ματρὶ πολυκλήρων Ἐφυραίων
Εἵλαχας μέγα ἄστυ παρ' ὕδασι Λυσιμέλειας.—Theocr. Idyl. 16, v. 83.

[2] Diodor. 11, 26.

[3] Diodor. 14, 63. The word *ἐσύλησεν*, the desultory nature of the attack of Himilco, and the speedy vengeance of the goddesses, lead to this conclusion.

[4] Cora, or Proserpine, under the name of Libera, was supposed by the Romans to be the consort of Bacchus (Liber) in inferis.

of the south-western cliffs of Syracuse, from Achradina to the hill of Euryalus, rivalling that similar chain of monuments at Agrigentum the remains of which still attest the admirable taste and intelligence of the Greeks in the position and arrangement of their public buildings.

Next to the temple of Minerva, the finest relic of autonomous Syracuse is the Theatre. The time of its foundation may with great probability be ascribed to that period of advancing wealth and civilization which followed the victory gained over the Carthaginians by Gelon at Himera, at the time of the Persian invasion of Greece. We may presume that even before that time the Syracusans had possessed some place of dramatic exhibition, though it may have been no better than such a wooden construction as those *ἴκρια*, the falling of which at Athens in 500 B.C. caused the commencement of the Dionysiac theatre.[1] Epicharmus and Phormis had *taught* comedy at Syracuse before that time, and the former of these poets continued to exhibit his works on the Syracusan stage in the reign of Hieron I., who succeeded his brother Gelon in the year 478 B.C.[2] Ten years afterwards Æschylus, accused by some of the Athenians of irreligion, and hurt at having been defeated in tragedy by Sophocles, retired for a time to Syracuse; and it appears to have been one of the consequences of this visit that, in exhibiting his trilogy of the Oresteia after his return to Athens, he appended to the three tragedies a *mime* named Proteus.[3]

[1] 'Topography of Athens,' 2nd edit. pp. 10, 247.

[2] Aristot. Poetic. 3, 5; Suidas in *Ἐπίχαρμος, Φόρμις*; Clinton, Fast Hell. I. p. 21.

[3] Vit. Æschyl.—Plutarch. Cimon. 8. Sch. Aristoph. Ran. v. 1155. Clinton, Fasti Hell. I. pp. 39, 45.

From a consideration of these circumstances it becomes highly probable that the Syracusans were not long behind the Athenians in undertaking the construction of their theatre, though in its progress towards completion there were many causes of interruption from which the Athenians were exempt. If its commencement may safely be attributed to the reign of Hieron the First, who was renowned for his patronage and encouragement of art and letters, there is reason to believe that it was not finished till many years later. Eustathius, giving some examples (in his commentaries on the Odyssey) of nouns masculine ending in *α*, similar to the *ἱππότα Νέστωρ* of Homer, mentions Aratus of Soli, a celebrated poet and critic of the third century B. C., as having stated on the authority of Sophron, the Syracusan *μιμογράφος*, that the theatre of Syracuse was completed by an architect named Democopus, who, having presented his fellow citizens with perfumes upon the occasion, obtained the surname of Myrilla.[1]

Sophron was born about 480 B. C.,[2] and in the year 467, when Hieron died, could not have been much

[1] *Καὶ Συρακόσιον τὸ ὁ Μύριλλα· οὗ μεμνῆσθαι λέγει* (Aratus) *τὸν Σώφρονα, ἱστορῶν καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Συρακοσίου τούτου κύριον, Δημόκοπος ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τελεσιουργήσας τὸ θέατρον μύρον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις διένειμε, Μύριλλα ἐπεκλήθη.*—Eustath. ap. Od. Γ. v. 68. Aratus lived at the court of Antigonus Gonatas, and, like Eustathius, was a commentator on the Odyssey. The *διάρθωσις Ἀράτειος* is probably the extant text of the Odyssey. On the works of Aratus, see Clinton, Fasti Hell. II. p. 498.

[2] *Τοῖς χρόνοις ἦν κατὰ Ξέρξην καὶ Εὐριπίδην* (Suidas in *Σώφρων*). This can only mean that the *birth* of Sophron coincided nearly with that of Euripides, who was born in the year B. C. 480 : Xerxes is named because the Persians were then in Greece.

more than 13 years of age.[1] The theatre therefore could hardly have been finished in that reign; but undoubtedly it was completed before the Athenian expedition in 415, as this occurrence must have interrupted all such works, and in 406 we find the theatre employed for public spectacles. In this year Dionysius I., returning from Gela to Syracuse with the object of obtaining from the Syracusans the appointment of *στρατηγὸς* against the Carthaginians, selected for his time of entering the city the hour when the people quitted the theatre, his design having obviously been that of entering the gates accompanied by a large body of the principal citizens. The words of Diodorus, who was well acquainted with the locality, not only indicate this intention, but are perfectly in agreement with the relative situations of the theatre and the Agragian gate, as well as with the fact of the theatre having been at that time excluded from the walls of the city.[2]

As no kind of building more readily admits of enlargement and of improvement in convenience or decoration than a Greek theatre, and in particular as it may at any time be extended by the addition of seats in the upper part, there can be no certainty that the dimensions of the Syracusan theatre in the middle of the fifth century B. C. were so great as present appearances give proofs of their having become at some later period. The Dionysiac theatre of Athens, begun

[1] The time of Sophron's death is uncertain, but about 392 B.C. we find his son and his successor in the drama, Xenarchus, satirizing in one of his *mimes* the Rhegini, who were then at war with Dionysius I. —Diodor. 14, 40 et 111; Phot. et Suid. in *Ῥηγίνους*.

[2] *Θέας δ' οὔσης ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις, τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· συνδραμόντων δὲ τῶν ὄχλων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πυνθανομένων περὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων*, &c.—Diodor. 13, 94.

soon after the year 500 B. C., received improvements and decorations until 330 B. C.[1]

Some remains of the highest seats, excavated in the rocks, indicate that at one time the theatre of Syracuse extended upwards as far as a road, cut also in the rock, which was on a level with the summit of the theatre, and along which are some artificial sepulchral caverns. On this supposition the rows of seats must have been more than sixty in number, and the theatre consequently capable of containing more than 24,000 spectators, or equal in capacity to some of the greatest theatres in Greece.[2] There was no more than one præcinction, which was between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth seats from the orchestra, and was 7½ feet in width; but in the lower division there was a row of seats having a higher back than the others, and which with all those below it were covered originally with slabs of white marble,[3] the loss of which has now

[1] 'Topography of Athens,' 2nd edition, pp. 10, 599.

[2] See 'Topography of Athens,' 2nd edition, p. 521. The enormous capacity of some of the Greek theatres had probably more in view political assemblies than dramatic exhibitions, although the latter was the original, and continued to be the chief ostensible intention of them, as their dedication to Bacchus and their decorative sculpture almost invariably show. At Athens the Dionysiac theatre, after its completion, was more commonly employed than the Pnyx for political meetings; and at Syracuse there is ample proof that the theatre was the ordinary place of public assembly.—See Plutarch. Dion, c. 38; Timol. cc. 34, 38; Justin, 22, 2.

[3] These marble coverings and some other particulars of the scene and orchestra were discovered in an excavation made in the year 1839 by a Palermitan Commission of Antiquities, of which the Duke of Serradifalco has given us the results. (Antichita di Sicilia, IV. p. 140, *seq.*) It may have been in consequence of discoveries made on that occasion that the two walls terminating the cavea, which in Mr. Donaldson's plan ('Antiquities of Athens,' &c. IV. 48) are oblique to the scene, are made parallel to it by the Duke of Serradifalco.

rendered those seats lower than the rest: the high back occurs between the eleventh and twelfth seats from the orchestra, and doubtless marked the termination of the privileged seats.

On the upper side of the præcinction there was a wall, or podium, 5 feet in height, having a projecting cornice; below which, between the scalæ, which divide the cavea into nine cunei, there was a succession of inscriptions in large letters, each in a single line. Two of these inscriptions are still perfect, and three of them preserve a sufficient number of letters to render their restoration almost certain. As to the other four, there remains only the certainty that they once existed: there can be little doubt that they all served to give name to the several upper cunei of the theatre. The central cuneus bore the name of Jupiter Olympius: the four on the western side, or to the left of the spectator looking from the scene, appear to have been named from the royal family reigning when the inscriptions were engraved, and those on the eastern side, or to his right, from the protecting deities. Beginning at the western wing, I copied as follows:

On the second, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΝΗΡΗΙΔΟΣ
On the third, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ
On the fourth, (Β)ΑΣΙΛ(ΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩ)ΝΟΣ
On the fifth, or central cuneus, ΔΙ(ο)Σ ΟΛΥΜ(ΠΙΟΥ)
On the seventh, (Η)ΡΑΚΛ(ΕΟΣ ΕΥ)ΦΡΟΝ(ΙΟΥ)

The letters of the words *Βασιλίσσας Φιλιστίδος* are precisely similar in form to those on the Philistidia,[1] or Syracusan coins of silver, which bear the head of Philistis: the resemblance of the sigma and the omicron deserves in particular to be noticed, the former

[1] *Φιλιστίδιον—νόμισμά τι.* Hesych. in v.

being Σ and not ϹϹ as in earlier times, and the ο being smaller than the other letters: there can be no question, therefore, as to the identity of the person named on the theatre and on those beautiful Syracusan medals. Nevertheless, no mention of Philistis occurs in history. But Nereis, whose name occupies the next cuneus, we know to have been a daughter of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and that she became wife of Gelon, son of Hieron II., and mother of Hieronymus, the successor of Hieron. The name on the fourth cuneus will admit of the restoration ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ as well as ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ; but it is hardly credible that Gelon should ever have borne the same title as his father, who survived him. Two conjectures may be offered as to Philistis: she may have been one of the wives of Hieron, who, in the course of a life extended beyond the age of ninety, may very possibly have had a wife whose name does not occur in the imperfect records which remain to us of Sicilian history; or she may have been a daughter of Hieron, whose earlier death may have saved her from the fate of the survivors of the family of Hieron, when they were all cruelly murdered by the party in power after the death of Hieronymus,—an event from which we learn that Damareta, the daughter of Hieron, had been married to Andranodorus; Heraclea, another daughter, to Zoippus; and Harmonia, daughter of his son Gelon, to Themistius.[1] Of the two preceding conjectures as to Philistis, the former is perhaps preferable, inasmuch as this name is not very likely to have belonged to the royal family, but indicates rather a descent from Philistus, the celebrated historian, who was minister of Dionysius II.

[1] Liv. 24, 25; 26.

Hieron the Second, besides having constructed the temple of Jupiter Olympius in the agora, which has already been mentioned, built near the theatre an altar which was a stade in length.[1] An excavation made between the theatre and amphitheatre by the Palermitan Commission, in 1839, discovered this altar. It was raised on steps, and its length appears to have been about 640 English feet, or 33 feet more than a stade. Diodorus adds, that its breadth and height were in proportion to its length; but as the breadth was not more than about 60 English feet, it certainly had not in this respect the usual proportion of altars, and particularly did not resemble another great altar, that of Jupiter at Olympia, which was a square of about 80 feet.[2]

Among the most remarkable extant antiquities of autonomous Syracuse may be mentioned the latomiæ or quarries, which served as prisons and places of penal labour,[3] and in some of which the Athenians were imprisoned after their defeat under Nicias and Demosthenes. There is a succession of these quarries along the crest of the heights of Achradina, extending with intervals from the theatre to the exterior sea. Others are seen on the ridge of *Euryalus* to the eastward of Mongibéllisi; and they are altogether so extensive that the materials of a large portion of the buildings of ancient Syracuse may have been extracted from them. Ælian ascribes to the latomiæ of Epipolæ the magnitude of a stade in length and two plethra in breadth;[4] but these dimensions are hardly suffi-

[1] *ὁ πλησίον τοῦ θεατροῦ βωμὸς, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ὢν σταδίου, τὸ δ' ὕψος καὶ πλάτος ἔχων τούτῳ κατὰ λόγον.*—Diodor. 14, 83.

[2] V. 'Peloponnesiaca,' p. 36.

[3] Diodor. 15, 6.

[4] Ælian, Var. Hist. 12, 44.

cient for any of the ancient quarries still remaining at Syracuse.

Nearest to the theatre is the excavation called Il Orecchio di Dionysio (the Ear of Dionysius), by means of the form of which the tyrant is supposed to have been enabled, in a chamber above, to have heard the voices of those who were imprisoned below. This is doubtless one of those vulgar fables to be met with in every ancient city of eminence, from Jerusalem to Rome, which originated in the dark ignorance of the middle ages.

If the excavation has any resemblance to an ear, it is not to a human ear, but to that of a horse. There is a similar excavation at the easternmost quarry, or that of the Capuccini. Both of them were perhaps formed to facilitate the raising of stones from the quarry to the upper surface.

The principal monument of Roman Syracuse is the amphitheatre. Its arena is 233 feet in length and 132 in breadth, which is 14 feet longer and 2 feet broader than that of Verona. What may have been its altitude, or the capacity of its upper part, there are no means of determining; as the podium which encloses the arena, and ten of the lowest seats of the northern side, cut like those of the theatre out of the rock, are, together with a few fragments of the constructions of the opposite side, the only remains of the amphitheatre now extant.

It was constructed, probably, soon after the arrival of the Roman colony sent to Syracuse by Augustus;[1] for gladiatorial exhibitions at Syracuse are alluded to by writers of the time of Tiberius and Nero.[2]

[1] Strabo, p. 270. Dion Cas. 54, 7. Plin. H. N. 3, 8.
[2] Valer. Maxim. 1, 7. Tacit. Ann. 13, 49.

The ruins and vestiges of Syracuse are monumental confirmations of the truth of history as to its magnitude and importance, and justify the belief that it was truly reputed to have been "the greatest of Greek cities;"[1] for although Athens, including the Long Walls, had a greater periphery by about 26 stades, its superficial measurement was not so great as that of Syracuse. Strabo, however, is not correct in assigning to this city a circumference of 180 stades. The entire circuit, including Neapolis, is not more than 14 English miles, or about 122 stades.

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During the five centuries of autonomous Syracuse there were two celebrated historical occurrences which more particularly derive explanation from its topography and extant monuments; namely, the Athenian siege in the Peloponnesian war, and the capture of the city by Marcellus, — the closing scene of the autonomy. But as there are some other events in the history of Syracuse upon which light is thrown by its topography and antiquities, I may possibly render these 'Notes' less imperfect by adverting to those events as they shall occur in the course of a brief summary of the Syracusan annals.

Herodotus and Thucydides are the best authorities for the early history of this city; and for the less ancient, Diodorus, who deserves confidence as a Sicilian, and as having derived his information from other native writers who preceded him; namely, Antiochus, Athanis, Timæus, Callias, and Antandrus,

[1] Isocrat. Nicocl. 6. Cicer. Verr. II. 4, 52. V. s. p. 241. Diodor. 15, 13. V. s. p. 249.

brother of King Agathocles. He refers also occasionally to Theopompus and Ephorus. Plutarch in his life of Dion, and in its continuation, the life of Timoleon, consulted some of the same authorities.

So rapid was the aggrandizement of the Corinthians under Archias, who about 733 B. C. expelled the earlier colony of Pelasgic Italians, or Siculi,[1] who had occupied the island Ortygia, that in less than 150 years from that time the new colony had founded Acræ, Casmenæ, Camarina, Camarinæan Morgantia, Talaria, and Enna;[2] and they continued to increase in power and prosperity under the aristocratical government of the Gamori, or descendants of the landholders of the colony of Archias, until the latter were expelled by a popular movement, about the year 493 B. C.[3] It was under the pretence of restoring the Gamori that, in the year 491 B. C., Gelon, quitting Gela, of which he had acquired the tyranny, obtained a similar authority in Syracuse, giving up the government of Gela to his brother Hieron, and recruiting the population of Syracuse from Gela and Camarina.[4] By these and similar means (says Herodotus) Gelon became a *μέγας τύραννος*.

When the alliance of Persia and Carthage threatened to extinguish the Hellenic system, both in Greece and Sicily, and thus at once to arrest the progress of arts, letters, and philosophy, Gelon was one of the principal instruments in defeating the

[1] Σικελοὶ and Ἰταλοὶ are probably no more than dialectic varieties of the same word.

[2] Thucyd. 4, 65; 6, 4. Theopomp. ap. Stephan. in Ταλαρία. Stephan. in Ἔννα.

[3] Herodot. 7, 155. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 6, 62.

[4] Gelon was descended from Telinas, one of the οἰκισταὶ, or chiefs of the Rhodian colony which occupied Gela about the year 688 B. C. Telinas was named from his native island Telus, near Rhodes, and his

designs of the barbarians. It happened fortunately that he had refused to lead the forces of Syracuse to Greece, unless he were to have the chief command of the entire Greek armament either by sea or by land, and that while the Athenians objected to the former part of his alternative, the Lacedæmonians were equally determined to insist upon being the leaders on shore. Hence Gelon was enabled to oppose the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily with the whole force of Syracuse and its dependencies, added to that of Agrigentum under Theron, and to gain at Himera a victory so complete, that scarcely a man returned to tell the tale at Carthage.

According to Herodotus, the battle was fought on the day of Salamis;[1] Diodorus says on that of Thermopylæ, a date which he found probably in one of the ancient historians whom he followed, and with the feelings of a Sicilian preferred; for the priority, as he remarks, was at once an example to the Greeks and an auxiliary to their success. With the same feelings he adds, but not untruly, that while the glory of Gelon rivalled that of Themistocles, the former had the advantage of having destroyed both branches of the hostile armament at a single blow, and had filled Sicily with Punic slaves; and that whereas Pausanias and Themistocles, the successful commanders of the Greeks, were, the one slain by his own countrymen,

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descendant Gelon from his native city, or from the river, the indigenous name of which had been applied to the new settlement, as had occurred also at Syracuse, Agragas, Himera, Selinus, Camarina, and other Sicilian cities, (Duris ap. Stephan. in Ἀκράγαντες,) probably to avoid a preference of any one of the cities from which the associated colonists came.—Herodot. 7, 153. Thucyd. 6, 4.

[1] Herodot. 7, 166.

the other compelled to owe the support of his latter years to the generosity of his great opponent, Gelon enjoyed the chief authority at Syracuse to the day of his death,[1] left it to his three brothers in succession,[2] and was honoured with heroic worship to the latest period of history.

[1] According to Diodorus (11, 23), Gelon reached old age (*ἐγγηράσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ*); but this, although possible, does not very well agree with his having held the tyranny of Syracuse no more than seven years, and with his having been suddenly cut off (*μεσολαβηθεὶς τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης*) while building a temple of Ceres at Enna, nor is it very consistent with his brothers having held the tyranny twelve years after his death, or with his brother Polyzelus having married his widow Damareta (Timæus ap. Sch. Pindar. Ol. 2, 29). The text of Diodorus is defective where mention is made of the temple of Ceres built by Gelon, and where Ætna is named as the town. There was no town of Ætna at that time. The Ætna of Pindar (Pyth. 1. Nem. 9) was Catana, named Ætna by Hieron I. when he placed there a colony (Diodor. 11, 49). Seventeen years afterwards, this colony was forced to retire to Ennesia (11, 76), on the southern side of Mount Ætna, about 15 miles N. W. of Catana. Thenceforth Ennesia was named Ætna, and of this Ætna coins are extant.

[2] *Ὥστε καὶ τρισὶν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαφυλαχθῆναι.*—Diodor. 11, 23. Polyzelus, however, the third son of Deinomenes, was no more than *στρατηγὸς*, which he became by desire of the dying Gelon, while Hieron held the chief authority (Timæus ap. Sch. Pindar. 2, 29; Diodor. 11, 48). But Polyzelus shared with his brothers in the glory of the day of Himera, and was one of the dedicators of a golden tripod at Delphi, according to the following epigram, attributed to Simonides:

*Φημὶ Γέλων' Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον*
*Παῖδας Δεινομένους τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι,*
*Ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων*
*Δαρείου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν,*
*Βάρβαρα νικήσαντες ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν*
*Σύμμαχον Ἕλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.*—Anthol. 1, p. 134.

*Δαρείου χρυσοῦ*,—pure gold,—in reference to the purity of the Persian daric, which, at that time, was almost the only gold coin known in Greece. Besides this joint dedication of the four brothers

The most important event in the reign of Hieron, brother and successor of Gelon, was the victory gained, B. C. 474, by the Syracusan ships, sent to the assistance of Cumæ, over the fleet of the Tyrrhenians, then the greatest naval power in the ancient world, and who, from this circumstance, gave name to the sea on the western side of Italy.[1] But Hieron is still more renowned as having been a zealous and enlightened patron of letters and the arts, at a time when he was rather setting an example to Athens than following its steps in this brightest path of Grecian glory.

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(at Syracuse?), there was another tripod, weighing 26 talents, made from the same Carthaginian spoils, which was presented by Gelon to Apollo of Delphi (Diodor. 11, 26). As to the value or weight of the Sicilian talent of gold, we learn from the inscriptions of Tauromenium (V. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. Nos. 5640, 5641), that public accounts in Sicily were usually kept in talents of copper, each of 120 litræ or pounds; on comparing which with the third line of the epigram, we may infer that a talent of gold was similarly divided. Now although the litra of silver was no more than a representative of the pound of copper, it became the unit of the silver coinage of Syracuse, and probably that of the gold money also, when the Syracusans began to coin in that metal. The talent of gold seems therefore to have weighed 120 of these litræ of 13·4 grains, or 1608 grains, or 24 Attic drachmæ. On this supposition the tripod of the four brothers weighed 14·2 pounds, equal to about £720 of our present gold currency; and the whole metallic spoil of Himera (the tripod having been a hundredth part, *τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν*) amounted to £72,000, equivalent to a much larger sum of the present time. If this should appear a small amount, it must be remembered that a large proportion of the Punic valuables was destroyed in the ships.

[1] Of this victory there is an interesting monument in the British Museum, namely, one of the helmets dedicated by Hieron at Olympia on this occasion, and thus inscribed: ΗΙΑΡΟΝ Ο ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΡΑΝ' ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ—'Hieron, the son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans, (dedicate) to Jupiter (these) Tyrrhenian things from Cyma.'

Hieron, after a reign of eleven years, was succeeded by Thrasybulus, the youngest son of Deinomenes, whose conduct speedily caused his expulsion from Syracuse. His army of foreigners and mercenaries was opposed by Syracusans, assisted from Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Himera, and other cities. The tyrant held Nasus or the *island* Ortygia, and Achradina; his opponents were in possession of Tycha, at that time an unfortified village or suburb. Thrasybulus was beaten by sea, lost many triremes, and with the remainder retired to Nasus: he then advanced with his land forces from Achradina, fought with the enemy in the suburbs (*ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις*),[1] and, having been beaten, retreated into Achradina, and there made a treaty with his opponents, according to which he retired in exile to Locri.

A colossal statue was erected on this occasion to Jupiter the Liberator (*Διὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ*), and games were established named Eleutheria. These games gave rise to an insurrection of the new citizens, who had been introduced by Gelon, and who, to the number of 7000, now found themselves excluded, on account of their foreign origin, from all offices, and, at length, from the public feast of the Eleutheria. They seized upon Achradina and Nasus, both of which were well fortified.[2] The Syracusans had the advantage by land, the foreigners at sea; but at length, being straitened for provisions, they partook probably (for Diodorus has not expressly mentioned it) the fate of the intruding citizens of several other cities, who were banished, and retired chiefly to Messana.[3]

[1] Diodor. 11, 68.

[2] *ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων τούτων ἐχόντων ἴδιον τεῖχος καλῶς κατεσκευασμένον.*—Diodor. 11, 73.

[3] Diodor. 11, 76.

The expulsion of Thrasybulus after one year's reign was followed by sixty years of prosperity under republican institutions, such as those which raised a great number of the states of Greece to the greatest height of tranquillity, power, and civilization they ever attained, and of which the limits were the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. There cannot be a better proof of the prosperity to which Syracuse had arrived at the end of that period, than its successful resistance to Athens, when the two great rivals in Greece had brought the greater part of the Hellenic world into their quarrel, and when Syracuse became the principal object of Athenian ambition and hostility.

It was in the 17th and 18th years of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 415, 414) that the Athenians undertook that expedition against Syracuse which had in view the subjugation of all Sicily, but which ended in the total discomfiture of the entire armament, and led to the capture of Athens itself by the Lacedæmonians.

Of the Greek cities of Sicily founded about three centuries before this time, (namely, Naxus, Syracuse, Megara, Gela, and Messana,) all except Megara[1] were still flourishing, and all, including Megara, had founded colonies in other parts of Sicily, some of which had even rivalled their parent cities.[2] Syracuse itself had not yet attained above half the area given to it by Dionysius, but even then it was between nine and ten miles in circumference.

In the autumn of the 2nd year of the 91st Olympiad, (B. C. 415,) the Athenians effected their first landing

[1] *ἃ ἦν ἔρημα, ἀπέχοντα Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε ὁδόν.*—Thucyd. 6, 49, § 5.

[2] Thucyd. 6, 3, *seq.*

near the Olympieium, (*κατὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον*),[1] a place which had been pointed out to them by the Syracusan deserters as secure against the cavalry of the enemy, whose superiority in this force was very great. The position was protected by woods, marshes, precipices, walls, and houses; and there were trees which afforded materials for making an intrenchment and palisading round the ships (*παρὰ τὰς ναῦς σταύρωμα ἔπηξαν*).[2] At Dascon, the weakest point of the position, they constructed a fortress formed of rough stones (*λίθοις λογάδην*) and wood; and they broke down the bridge of the Anapus. Though Dascon is not again named by Thucydides, there can be little hesitation in placing it at the projection in the middle of the bay opposite to Ortygia, which separates the low shore at the mouth of the Anapus from the bay of Madalena or Milocca, which Diodorus[3] describes as *τὸν κόλπον τὸν Δάσκωνα*. The trees grew, probably, on the marshy bottom and plain between the cliffs of Olympieium and the Anapus, and were thus at hand for forming a stockade to protect the ships, as well as for constructing the fortress of Dascon, which protected the right of the Athenian position.

In the evening of the day on which the Athenians had landed, the Syracusan cavalry, returning from a fruitless expedition to Catana, whither they had been led by a stratagem of the enemy, advanced towards the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and were followed soon afterwards by the infantry. Around the temple there was a *πολίχνη* or small town:[4] the temple itself seems not to have been in possession of the Athenians,

[1] Thucyd. 6, 65, 2. [2] 66, 2. [3] 12, 13.

[4] Polichne is employed by Diodorus as the proper name of this place. Diodor. 13, 7; 14, 72.

but the houses and the cliffs which extended from the Olympieium to Dascon afforded cover to their line. The Syracusan army, finding the Athenians not disposed to attack, retired behind the road which led from Syracuse to Helorus, and encamped (*ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὴν Ἑλωρινὴν ὁδὸν, ηὐλίσαντο,* Thucyd. 6, 66, ad fin.).

The bridge of the Anapus, destroyed by the Athenians, was probably in the place where the remains of an ancient bridge are still seen, a little below the junction of the Anapus and Cyane; and it would seem, from the words just cited, that the Helorine way branched off to the right immediately beyond the bridge, leaving Polichne and the temple on the left. It would seem also, from the Syracusans having retired behind the Helorine way, that the valley of Cyane was in those days better drained towards the sea than it is at present: on the contrary, the plain appears to have been more marshy, both to the right and left of the Anapus, on which latter side was the marsh Lysimeleia, extending nearly to the walls of Syracuse. In the bay of Syracuse, as in all other similar situations where rivers terminate in the sea, we may expect to find the coast at the mouth of the river, and the lower course of the river itself, different from their ancient state; and as the alluvium which causes such changes has, in the present instance, been deposited chiefly or entirely by the Anapus, (the Cyane being a pure, deep-seated source, with a course of no more than two miles,) it is probable that the course of the Anapus, below the junction, is now nearer than it was anciently to the hill of Olympieium, and that the ground between them is narrower.

On the following day both armies drew out in order

of battle. The Syracusan cavalry was on the right; their left seems to have been extended nearly to the heights of Syracuse; for Thucydides remarks, that some of the infantry on the left, who were nearest to the city, retired thither. The Athenian hoplitæ were, for the most part, eight in depth, the Syracusan sixteen. The Athenians advanced, were met by the enemy, and gained a complete victory, in the midst of rain and thunder, though they were prevented from availing themselves thoroughly of their advantage by the enemy's cavalry, under cover of which their infantry rallied on the Helorine way, threw some troops into the temple of Jupiter Olympius, lest the Athenians should plunder it, and retreated in safety. Their loss was 260, that of the Athenians 50. The winter season now induced the Athenians to give up their enterprise until they should receive some assistance in cavalry from Athens, or from their allies of Sicily: they withdrew therefore with the whole armament to Catana and Naxus, where they passed the winter, and at the former of these cities prepared bricks and iron for the circumvallation of Syracuse, *ἐς τὸν περιτειχισμὸν πλινθία καὶ σίδηρον ἡτοίμαζον.* (88, 6.)

The Syracusans meanwhile strengthened their city on the side towards Epipolæ, with the view of preventing the Athenians, should they obtain possession of that height, from making a circumvallation in the narrowest part. They built a wall, therefore, connected with the city, looking in all its extent towards Epipolæ, and enclosing within it the sanctuary of Apollo Temenites: *ἐτείχιζον πρὸς τῇ πόλει, τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς ποιησάμενοι, τεῖχος παρὰ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ὁρῶν, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἐλάσσονος εὐαποτείχιστοι ὦσιν.* (75, 1.) They placed also a garrison (*φρούριον*) in Megara, and

another in the Olympieium, and they palisaded all the places adapted to debarkation (*τὴν θάλασσαν προεσταύρωσαν πανταχῇ ᾗ ἀποβάσεις ἦσαν*), not without the hope that they might succeed in preventing the Athenians from occupying Epipolæ, without which there was little danger of Syracuse being taken. And for this purpose, in the early part of the summer of B. C. 414, they turned their attention to the defence of the passes leading up to Epipolæ through the cliffs which enclose it. Three of these passages were in Neapolis: one behind the theatre; another, now called Fuscu (Sicilian for *fosco*, 'dark'), is half a mile further to the westward; and there is a third at the western extremity of Neapolis, where appears to have been a gate leading into Epipolæ. Two of these were accessible to wheel-carriages; and the principal entrances on the other sides of Syracuse were doubtless equally so. But, besides these passages through the cliffs, there were others which led to *πυλίδες*, or small gates, and were intended for foot-passengers. The positions of some of these, having steps cut in the rock leading up to them, are still to be observed in the enclosure of Syracuse, as well on the land side as on that towards the sea.

The name *Epipolæ* is applied by Thucydides, as already hinted, not only to the western part of the triangular table-summit of Syracuse,—where in later times stood one of the five component *cities* of Syracuse,—but to the whole tabular height bordered by cliffs, which lies westward of the hill of Achradina. He describes Epipolæ as rising in a slope from the city, so as to afford a view of its interior, and as surrounded by precipices which admitted only of an access to the height through certain passes in the

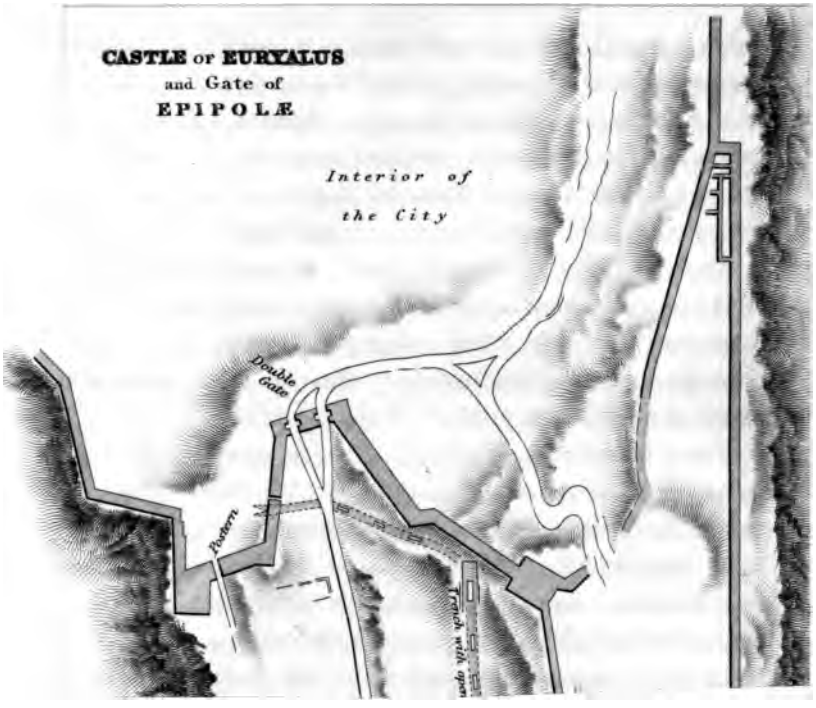
cliffs: *οἱ Συρακόσιοι, . . . νομίσαντες, ἐὰν μὴ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν κρατήσωσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, (χωρίου ἀποκρήμνου τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς κειμένου,) οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως σφᾶς, οὐδ' εἰ κρατοῖντο μαχῇ ἀποτειχισθῆναι, διενοοῦντο τὰς προσβάσεις αὐτῶν φυλάσσειν, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ ταύτας λαθῶσι σφᾶς ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῃ γε αὐτοὺς δυνηθῆναι. ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω· καὶ ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων, διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς τοῦ ἄλλου εἶναι, Ἐπιπολαί.* (96, 1, 2.)

At the moment when the Syracusans had drawn out their army in the meadow of the Anapus, for the purpose of selecting 600 hoplitæ for the defence of Epipolæ, the Athenians, who had sailed from Catana, landed at Leon, six or seven stades from Epipolæ in the opposite direction, and, before the Syracusans could arrive from the meadow of the Anapus, which was much more distant, had ascended by Euryalus into Epipolæ. The distance of Leon from Epipolæ identifies it with a small harbour below Targia on the road from the Aguglia to Targetta. Immediately after the landing, the Athenian fleet was sent to Thapsus (now Magnisi), a peninsula connected by a narrow isthmus with the main: *χερσόνησος ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ προὔχουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, τῆς δὲ Συρακοσίων πόλεως οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπέχει.* (97, 1.) Here the naval force protected itself by a stockade across the isthmus, *διασταυρωσάμενος τὸν ἰσθμὸν, ἡσύχαζεν.* (97, 2.) As soon as the 600 Syracusan hoplitæ, with some other troops, arrived on Epipolæ, they were attacked and defeated by the Athenians, who were already in possession of the heights: 300 Syracusans were slain, and among them Diomilus, leader of the 600. The Syracusans then retired into the city, towards which the Athenians the next day advanced, offering battle, but without effect.

They then proceeded to build a fortress at Labdalum, on the highest rocks of Epipolæ, looking towards Megara, to serve for a place in which their materials and property might be deposited, whether they should be employed in fighting or in circumvallating: *φρούριον ἐπὶ τῷ Λαβδάλῳ ᾠκοδόμησαν, ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς κρημνοῖς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ὁρῶν πρὸς τὰ Μέγαρα, ὅπως εἴη αὐτοῖς, ὁπότε προΐοιεν, ἢ μαχούμενοι ἢ τειχιοῦντες, τοῖς τε σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποθήκη.* (97, ad fin.) Hence Labdalum appears to have been the name of the narrow ridge defended by cliffs, now called Belvedere, which extends a mile to the north-west from the pass of Mongibéllisi, and terminates in a peak, at the foot of which is a small village, and now (1839) on the summit, a telegraph. On some part of this ridge the fortress of the Athenians was probably built. It has indeed been supposed by some topographers of Syracuse that the height named Bufalaro, to the east of Mongibéllisi, where are some ancient quarries, was the site of that fortress; and that Euryalus was at the peak of Belvedere: but if Euryalus was the key of Epipolæ from the westward, as Thucydides plainly shows, it cannot have been any where but at Mongibéllisi, where is the only pass into the table-land of Epipolæ at its western end. Labdalum was situated on the highest cliffs of Epipolæ; whereas Bufalaro is a round height below the summit, midway between the southern and the northern cliffs. It is almost needless to remark, that Labdalum could not have been at Mongibéllisi itself, because Labdalum looked down upon Thapsus and Megara, whereas the ancient castle at Mongibéllisi stands on a depression which connects the ridge of Belvedere with that of Bufalaro, and is concealed by a ridge on its northern side from the sites of Leon and Thapsus. If Labdalum

had occupied any part of Epipolæ, it must have been on the edge of the northern cliffs, northward of Bufalaro. But I am more inclined to believe that Labdalum, like the modern Belvedere, is applicable to the whole of the ridge westward of Mongibéllisi, and that Euryalus, or 'the broad knoll,' was a name descriptive of the entire height of Bufalaro, from its termination eastward of the latomiæ, to its other end at Mongibéllisi, —where, in an age subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, was erected the castle of Euryalus, of which the ruins are still extant.

Soon afterwards the Athenians received a welcome reinforcement of 400 horse from their Sicilian allies, and thus increased the amount of their cavalry to 650; after which, having left a guard in Labdalum, they proceeded to Syce, and began to construct their circumvallation as quickly as possible: *καταστήσαντες ἐν τῷ Λαβδάλῳ φυλακὴν, ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν Συκῆν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵναπερ καθεζόμενοι ἐτείχισαν τὸν κύκλον διὰ τάχους.* (98, 2.) An attempt to interrupt them was made by the Syracusans, but they were defeated in an action in which all the Athenian cavalry was engaged, together with a single *φυλὴ* of hoplitæ. The next day the Athenians worked at their wall on the northern side, and some were employed in collecting stones and wood near Trogilus, at which place the line between the harbour and the outer sea was shortest: *οἱ μὲν ἐτείχιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ κύκλου τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λίθους καὶ ξύλα ξυμφοροῦντες παρέβαλλον ἐπὶ τὸν Τρώγιλον καλούμενον, ἀεὶ ᾗπερ βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν τὸ ἀποτείχισμα.* (99, 1.) We find, in fact, that the shortest line from the outer sea to the great harbour of Syracuse is from Scala Greca to the shore of the harbour below the theatre. Scala




in this instance, it seems to have been that of a small

to the shore of the harbour below the theatre. Scala

Greca, therefore, was the port of the Trogilii mentioned by Livy; and Trogilus probably was the name of the entire suburb adjacent to the northern wall of Syracuse, below the modern Targia and Targetta, which names may have been corrupted from *Τρώγιλος*. But this shortest line was interrupted by the outwork of the Syracusans at Temenitis.

From all these circumstances we may conclude that Syce—the Athenian position from which it was their intention to carry their wall of investment northward to Trogilus, and southward to the great harbour—was near the southern cliffs of Epipolæ, opposite to the advanced work of the Syracusans around Temenitis, and about midway between the two extremities of the intended Athenian circumvallation. Syce was probably the name of a small village which in a later age was a part of the *city* Epipolæ. That the Athenian position at Syce was near the southern cliffs of Epipolæ, seems evident from the fact, that the Athenians worked at first in two places to the northward of their position, namely, near it, and on the other side of Epipolæ, near Trogilus, where the materials were prepared, and where the circumvallation was to terminate to the north. Some commentators have supposed that *Συκῇ* is an erroneous or dialectic reading for *Τύχη*, and that Thucydides intended the *Τυχεῖον*, or temple of Fortune, which afterwards gave name to one of the quarters of upper Syracuse: but we have the clear testimony of Livy, that Hexapylum, the great northern entrance of Syracuse, led through Tycha to Achradina; consequently, that Tycha was adjacent to the northern walls. *Συκῇ*, the fig-tree, was not uncommon as the name of a village, like Sykiá at the present day; and, in this instance, it seems to have been that of a small

suburban place, like Labdalum, Leon, Trogilus, and others.

The Syracusans now resolved to build a cross-wall (ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος or ὑποτείχισμα) to intercept the Athenian circumvallation (ὑποτειχίζειν δὲ ἄμεινον ἐδόκει εἶναι, ᾗ ἐκεῖνοι ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸ τεῖχος, 99, 2) in its progress towards the shore of the great harbour on that side; and which would, if the Athenians should endeavour to frustrate the attempt, cause at least an interruption to their operations on Epipolæ. This Syracusan counterwork consisted of a wall and palisade with wooden towers at intervals. Stockades were also raised at the places which afforded the readiest access from the Athenian camp (σταυροῖς προκαταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐφόδους): these places were the προσβάσεις or passes in the southern cliffs of Epipolæ, which afford a descent from Epipolæ into Neapolis. For these purposes the Syracusans cut down the olive-trees in the temenus of Apollo. The Syracusans, observes the historian, were at this time masters of the places on the seaside, (ἐκράτουν τῶν περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, 99, 4,) the Athenians, whose ships had not yet sailed from Thapsus, obtaining their supplies from thence by land; a remark which accounts for the Syracusan cross-wall having been erected between Epipolæ and the harbour; for in the sequel this clearly appears to have been its position. Had the Athenian fleet been in possession of the harbour, a cross-wall, exposed as it would have been to the enemy on both sides, would have been too hazardous an undertaking; and accordingly we find that when the Athenians had occupied the harbour with their fleet, they were no longer opposed in prolonging their wall from Syce to the harbour.

The counterwork of the Syracusans appears to have

commenced from the western wall of Achradina, between the Agragian gate and that point of the western wall where it was joined by the enclosure or outwork of Temenitis, and to have been carried along the lower platform afterwards occupied by Neapolis, having the cliffs of Epipolæ on the right, and the plain with the marsh Lysimeleia on the left. In the wall of Temenitis there was a *πυλὶς*, or small gate, protected as usual by a stockade in front.

When the Syracusans had carried on their work to a considerable extent, and found that the enemy made no attempt to interrupt them, they withdrew into the city, leaving a single *φυλὴ* in guard of their counterwork. The Athenians now cut off the conduits of water, (we have seen that the principal aqueduct of Syracuse passed exactly through the position which I have assigned to Syce,) then—watching the moment when the Syracusans in charge of the counterwork had retired into their tents at mid-day, and some into the city, and when the guard left at the palisaded wall was negligent (*τοὺς ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ἀμελῶς φυλάσσοντας*, 100, 1.)—they sent 300 chosen Athenian hoplitæ (*σφῶν αὐτῶν λογάδας*), at a rapid pace, suddenly against it (*πρὸς τὸ ὑποτείχισμα*), while the rest of their forces (*ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ*), divided into two bodies, proceeded, the one to the city, that is to say, towards the gate of Agragas, to meet any force that might advance from thence, and the other to a palisaded work before a small gate (*πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα τὸ παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα*) which led into the outwork of Temenitis. The 300 took the stockade of the counterwork: those left in charge of it fled into Temenitis (*ἐς τὸ προτείχισμα τὸ περὶ τὸν Τεμενίτην*, 100, 2), and were pursued by the enemy into that outwork, but who then met with op-

position from the Syracusans, when some Argives and a few Athenians fell in the encounter. The Argives were evidently of those who had been sent against the stockade of the small gate, and who, it thus appears, had forced their way in; for the 300 consisted of Athenians alone. And hence it appears also, that the *πυλὶς*, although not so described, was a gate of the outwork Temenitis, and that the division of the army sent against it had easily taken the stockade in front of it. The entire force then took possession of the Syracusan counterwork (*ὑποτείχισιν καθεῖλον*), destroyed the palisade, carried away with them the stakes (*σταυροὺς*), and erected a trophy. (100, ad fin.)

The next day, the Athenians—whose circumvallation had hitherto been carried on to the northward of Syce, but who were encouraged by the former day's success to continue it to the harbour,—prepared for this work by building a wall along the crest of the cliffs until they reached a point where the distance would be the shortest possible to that part of the shore of the harbour which was to be the southern end of their circumvallation, and which was separated from the cliffs by the lower level afterwards occupied by Neapolis, and by the plain and marsh: *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἕλους, ὃς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα ὁρᾷ, καὶ ᾗπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο καταβᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἕλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸ περιτείχισμα.* (101, 1.)

Here the words *ἐτείχιζον τὸν κρημνὸν* may require a little consideration. It could not have been the purpose of the Athenians to strengthen the cliffs, which were not only strong enough in themselves, but were on that side of the Athenian camp which was the most free from danger; for the Syracusans were never

sufficiently strong to make a serious attack upon the Athenian camp, even when they possessed a chain of posts extending to the enemy's rear. The wall along the cliffs, therefore, was defensive against the enemy in Temenitis, and was for the purpose of covering the communication along the cliffs between the camp at Syce and the advanced point of the cliffs from which commenced the double wall of circumvallation across the site of Neapolis and across the plain lying between Neapolis and the Anapus.

The Syracusans immediately commenced a second counterwork, to the southward of the former, and which was intended to intercept the Athenian walls in the plain. It commenced from the city, and consisted chiefly of a trench and palisade across the marsh Lysimeleia (*καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ, ἐξελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεσταύρουν αὖθις, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἕλους· καὶ τάφρον ἅμα παρώρυσσον, ὅπως μὴ οἷόν τε ᾖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποτειχίσαι*, 101, 2), which, though it may formerly have been larger than it is now, is still of considerable dimensions in the brumal half-year, and communicates with the sea about midway between the angle of the great port, where I have supposed the wall of Achradina to have terminated, and the mouth of the Anapus. As the Athenian walls were directed to some point in this interval, the palisaded intrenchment of the Syracusans, had it been completed, would have intersected it nearly at right angles in the middle of the plain, and would have had a length of about 1200 yards.

As soon as the Athenians had completed their wall along the cliff, it was necessary to attempt the destruction of the enemy's new intrenchment, at the same time that the ships at Thapsus were ordered to

enter the great harbour of Syracuse. Descending therefore early in the morning from Epipolæ into the plain, they crossed a part of the marsh by throwing wooden doors and planks over the most difficult places, and at day-break carried all the enemy's palisade and dyke, except a small part which was taken afterwards. A battle ensued, the Athenians were victorious, the right of the Syracusans fled to the city, and the left towards the river, with the view of retreating to the Olympieium, of which the Syracusans had retained possession. A body of 300 select Athenians endeavoured to cut them off from the bridge of the Anapus, but were turned by the Syracusan cavalry, and driven upon their own right wing, when Lamachus, the Athenian general, advancing from the left to their defence, was slain, with a few others, in passing a ditch, and his body was carried across the river by the Syracusans. This occurrence encouraged those who had fled into the town to advance again; and part of them attacked the Athenian works on Epipolæ, where Nicias had been detained by sickness. They succeeded in taking, and destroyed, an outwork 1000 feet long (*τὸ δεκάπλεθρον προτείχισμα*, 102, 2), which had been raised to afford a necessary protection from surprise to those who were at work on the wall itself; but they were prevented from making any attempt upon the latter (*αὐτὸν τὸν κύκλον*) wall by Nicias, who ordered the machines and wood collected before the wall, for the further progress of the work, to be set on fire, so that the enemy was unable to advance through the flames. They retired, therefore, and the more hastily, as the Athenians had now received assistance from the plain below, and the fleet from Thapsus was seen to enter the great harbour.

The Athenians, having now their fleet and army collected in one place, confidently undertook the completion of a double wall from the cliffs of Epipolæ to the sea (*ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν καὶ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἀρξάμενοι, ἀπετείχιζον μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τείχει διπλῷ τοὺς Συρακοσίους*, 103, 1.) They were now joined by many of the Siculi, and by three penteconters from Tyrrhenia; they received supplies also from the adjacent parts of Italy; while the Syracusans, despairing of being able to prevent the circumvallation, began to confer among themselves, as well as with the enemy, concerning terms of surrender. These conferences, however, had no result, and the only step taken by the Syracusans was to dismiss Hermocrates, and to appoint three new generals in his place.

Meantime Gylippus the Lacedæmonian had sailed with four ships to their relief, leaving at Leucas the rest of the Corinthian fleet; and although some accounts which he had received led him at first to believe that he should be too late,—which made him turn his attention to the security of the Greek cities on the coast of Italy, on his route,—further advices which reached him during his progress determined him, after having landed at Himera, to proceed from thence across the island to Syracuse, with 700 armed sailors and marines (*ἐπιβάται*), 1000 Siculi, 1100 Himeræi (of whom 100 were cavalry), and a small force from Selinus and Gela. Encouraged by the arrival of a Corinthian ship, which announced the speedy advent of others, as well as by the intelligence of the approach of Gylippus by land, the Syracusans advanced with their whole force towards the Athenian position on Epipolæ; while Gylippus entered Epipolæ without opposition through the same pass of Euryalus by which the Athenians had

ascended from Leon, and joined the Syracusans near the Athenian line of circumvallation. The Athenians were at this time employed in the construction of their double wall towards the great harbour, which was seven or eight stades in length, and of which no more than a small portion on the shore remained to be executed: *ξυνταξάμενος ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς· καὶ ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ᾗπερ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔτυχε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ ἐλθὼν ἐν ᾧ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίων ἤδη ἐπετετέλεστο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν μέγαν λίμενα διπλοῦν τεῖχος, πλὴν κατὰ βραχύ τι τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.* (Thucyd. 7, 2, § 3, 4.)

As the nearest point of the cliffs to the angle of the great harbour, near the site of the Agragian gate, is not less than eight stades, it seems evident that the 'seven or eight stades' are to be confined to that part of the Athenian lines which were in the maritime plain, and that the portion which began at the cliffs, and crossed the site of Neapolis, having been completed, was not taken into account in this computation of Thucydides. Indeed, it is likely that this part of the work was already in progress when the Syracusans began their second counterwork or intrenchment across the marsh.

Towards Trogilus and the other sea, stones were laid ready most part of the way; some part of the wall was half-finished, and some part completed: to such an extreme of danger, adds the historian, had Syracuse arrived. He seems to have thought, that had the circumvallation been completed, the capture of the city would have been certain. It was to prevent the possibility of such a circumvallation, that Dionysius I., twelve years afterwards, built a wall along the northern cliffs.

The fatal error of Nicias in neglecting to fortify Euryalus, the key of Epipolæ,—the importance of which, in the opinion of the ancients, is shown by the still extant fortress built in later times to protect this entrance into Syracuse,—is one of those unaccountable infatuations which often occur in military history. Instead of so doing, he had placed a garrison at Labdalum, apparently because that position commands a view towards Leon and Megara, on which side were, at that time, all his naval forces. As an exterior security to Euryalus, a post at Labdalum might have been useful, but it was of no value whatever when that point was left open.

As soon as Gylippus had effected a junction with the Syracusans, he offered to treat with the Athenians for their undisturbed evacuation of Sicily in five days: no answer was given. The forces on both sides were drawn out for battle, but no action ensued: Gylippus, seeing the Syracusans in disorder, withdrew to a more open place (*ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν μᾶλλον*, 3, 3), and when he perceived that Nicias remained behind his wall, (*ἡσύχαζε πρὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τείχει,*) led his army to the hill Temenitis, and there encamped (*ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Τεμεμῖτιν καλουμένην καὶ αὐτοῦ ηὐλίσαντο*). The first position of Gylippus appears to have been between the Athenian wall and that of Temenitis; from thence he moved into the space afterwards occupied by the third Syracusan counterwork, and by the enclosure adjacent to it, and from thence into Temenitis. The next day, Gylippus made a demonstration towards the Athenian works, while he sent a division against Labdalum, which place was not seen from the Athenian position. By these means he succeeded in taking Labdalum, and put the garrison to death. The fact of Labdalum

having been invisible from the Athenian position, shows that it could not have been on the height of Bufalaro. On the same day an Athenian ship was taken by the Syracusans, while entering the harbour.

The Syracusans and their allies now began to build a wall upwards from the city in a transverse direction to that of the Athenians, for the purpose of preventing them from continuing their circumvallation in a northerly direction (*ἐτείχιζον διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον,*[1] *τεῖχος ἁπλοῦν· ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ δύναιντο κωλῦσαι, μηκέτι οἷοί τε ὦσιν ἀποτειχίσαι.* 4, 1). We have seen that the Athenian circumvallation was a double wall; that the first Syracusan counterwork was a wall with a palisade before it, having wooden towers at intervals; and that their second counterwork in the marsh consisted of a trench and palisade. In this third counterwork a single wall (*τεῖχος ἁπλοῦν*) without a palisade seems to have been considered sufficient, because it was covered on the left by the outwork of Temenitis, and had a powerful force to protect the workmen engaged in raising it.

The Athenians, having now finished their wall ending at the harbour, had collected their forces on the heights (*ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἤδη ἄνω.* 4, 2). In the night, Gylippus advanced towards a weak place in the Athenian wall; but finding that his opponents were on the outside of the wall, and that they advanced against him, he withdrew: after which the Athenians raised that part of their wall higher, and kept that station to themselves, while their allies were stationed in other parts of the walls.

[1] *πρὸς ὄρθιον — πρὸς ἄναντες — πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν,* are employed in the same manner by Xenophon, Hell. 5, 4, § 54; 4, 3, § 16. A comma, therefore, is required between *ἐγκάρσιον* and *τεῖχος*.

Nicias, finding his hopes of a successful event by land much impaired, now turned his attention to his naval resources, and resolved to fortify Plemmyrium. This promontory was opposite to the city, and narrowed the entrance of the harbour, so that, when fortified, the importation of necessaries would be easier, the station of the Athenian ships would be nearer to the Syracusan port, (*i. e.* the smaller or northern harbour,) and the Athenians would not be obliged to advance from the inner part of the bay in case of any movement on the part of the enemy: *οὐχ, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐκ μυχοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς ποιήσεσθαι, ἤν τι ναυτικῷ κινῶνται.* (4, 4.) Proceeding, therefore, with some land forces and the ships, he built three forts, (*διακομίσας οὖν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς ναῦς, ἐξετείχισε τρία φρούρια,*) in which he placed the greater part of the naval stores; the ships of burden, as well as the war-ships, had already anchored there: *τὰ σκεύη τὰ πλεῖστα ἔκειτο, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἤδη ἐκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα ὥρμει, καὶ αἱ ταχεῖαι νῆες.* (4, 5.) But the ships' companies (*τὰ πληρώματα*) soon experienced the inconveniences of this position. Water was scarce or far to fetch, and the Syracusans had augmented their cavalry at Polichne and the temple of Jupiter Olympius, so that it now amounted to one-third of their whole strength in that arm; and the Athenian seamen were sometimes cut off by them when employed in collecting fuel: *ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ὁπότε ἐξέλθοιεν οἱ ναῦται.* (4, 6.)

Nicias sent, likewise, twenty ships towards Rhegium and Locri, to look out for the Corinthian ships coming to the assistance of the enemy. Meantime Gylippus continued the cross-wall through Epipolæ (*τὸ διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τεῖχος*), making use of the stones which the Athenians had provided for their own circumvallation,

and which, as Thucydides had before informed us, were chiefly collected near Trogilus. While engaged in this work, Gylippus drew out the Syracusans and their allies in front of the workmen, (*πρὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος*, 5, 1,) which obliged the Athenians to form a line opposite to them. At length he attacked the enemy,—but, as the action occurred between the walls of the respective parties, (*μεταξὺ τῶν τειχισμάτων*, 5, 2,) the Syracusan cavalry was of no avail. From these circumstances we may deduce with some degree of probability the position of the *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἁπλοῦν*, or transverse single wall of the Syracusans, as well as the extent to which the Athenians had carried their circumvallation to the northward. We may infer also that the distance was not very great between the Athenian lines and the nearly parallel Syracusan outwork of Temenitis.

Gylippus took the blame of this failure upon himself, and in a second action was more successful. On this occasion Nicias, who saw the necessity of making an effort to prevent the enemy's wall from crossing his line, which it had almost done, (*ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρεληλύθει τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τείχους τελευτὴν ἡ ἐκείνων τείχισις*, 6, 1,) commenced the attack. Gylippus drew out the hoplitæ further beyond the walls than before, (*ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον*, 6, 2,) and thus obliged the Athenians, in meeting them, to expose their left flank to his cavalry in the plain beyond the termination of the walls of either party (*κατὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ᾗ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμφοτέρων αἱ ἐργασίαι ἔληγον*). The Athenians were defeated, and retired in confusion within their walls; and in the following night the Syracusan counterwork was carried out so far beyond the construction of the Athenians, that it was no

longer possible for the latter to complete their circumvallation. Soon afterwards, twelve ships from Corinth, Ambracia, and Leucas, arrived at Syracuse without having encountered the Athenian ships sent to meet them. The Syracusan cross-wall was now united with the enclosure of Temenitis, (*ξυνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους*, 7, 1,) and thus largely extended the dimensions of that outwork of Achradina.

Nicias, in a dispatch which he now sent to Athens, informed the Athenians that he could not continue to circumvallate the enemy, (*περιτειχίσαι αὐτοὺς*, 11, 3,) unless their outwork (*παρατείχισμα*) were taken, which would require a large force; and that, being unable to face their cavalry, he had become rather the besieged than the besieger. He complained of the increase of the enemy's allies, of the bad repair of his own ships, of the loss or desertion of his seamen, and requested permission to resign his command. This was refused, but it was voted that reinforcements should be sent in the spring, to be commanded by Demosthenes and Eurymedon: the latter, meantime, was dispatched, about the winter solstice, with ten ships, and twenty (or 120) talents.

The Corinthians, having resolved, at the same time, upon sending further assistance to Syracuse, fitted out twenty-five ships, with vessels of burden (*ὁλκάδες*) for the transport of hoplitæ. In the early spring Gylippus in person collected reinforcements from his Sicilian allies, and on his return with them to Syracuse, urged the Syracusans to oppose the enemy at sea, in which counsel he was seconded by Hermocrates. Accordingly, forty-five Syracusan ships from the small port, in which was the naval arsenal, (*ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάσσονος οὗ ἦν καὶ*

τὸ νεώριον αὐτοῖς, 22, 1,) endeavoured to effect a junction with twenty-five others in the great harbour, with the view of assisting Gylippus in a projected attack by land upon Plemmyrium. Against the former of these squadrons the Athenians sent twenty-five ships, while thirty-five others met the squadron from the small port at the entrance of the great harbour. Here the Syracusans were at first successful; but those who had forced the entrance of the harbour falling into disorder, the Athenians ultimately prevailed, destroyed eleven Syracusan ships, slew the greater part of the men on board of eight of them, and captured those of the three remaining. They erected a trophy on the small island off Plemmyrium, (ἐν τῷ νησιδίῳ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου, 23, 4,) now called Castelluccio, and, towing away the wrecks of their prizes, returned to their station at the head of the great harbour.

Meantime Gylippus, marching by night, had attacked Plemmyrium, and, while the garrison was intent on the proceedings by sea, had carried the three fortresses; in honour of which event the Syracusans erected three trophies. The loss of Plemmyrium, observes the historian, was the chief cause of the ruin of the Athenian armament. Three of their triremes were here stranded, (ἀνειλκυσμέναι, 24, 2,) and taken possession of by the enemy; besides which they lost the sails of forty triremes, a provision of corn, and many stores belonging to trierarchs and sutlers. Nor was it long before they had to lament a similar loss sustained by them on the coast of Italy, where a squadron of Syracusan ships of war encountered and destroyed some vessels laden with supplies for them, burnt some of their ship-timber, (ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα, 25, 2,) which had been collected for them in the Cauloniatis, and re-

turned to Syracuse with no other loss than that of one ship taken by the Athenian squadron of twenty ships, which was stationed at Megara.

In the (great) harbour the Syracusans made a stockade in the sea, before the old ship-houses, (*ἐν τῷ λιμένι πρὸ τῶν παλαιῶν νεωσοίκων*, 25, 5,) as a protection to them against the enemy. Although the historian employs only the words *ἐν τῷ λιμένι*, he could not have meant the smaller harbour, into which the Athenians never entered, and of which doubtless the interior part, containing, as we know, the *νεώρια*, or naval arsenal, was a closed port (*κλειστὸς λιμήν*). It is probable that the old ship-houses were within the walls of Achradina, not far from the isthmus of Ortygia.

The Athenians, having brought near the stockade a ship of 10,000 talents' burden, fortified with wooden towers and bulwarks, drew out the stakes by windlasses placed in barges, or cut them with saws by means of divers: *προσαγαγόντες ναῦν μυριοφόρον, πύργους τε ξυλίνους ἔχουσαν καὶ παραφράγματα, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀκάτων ὤνευον ἀναδούμενοι τοὺς σταυροὺς καὶ ἀνέκλων, καὶ κατακολυμβῶντες ἐξέπριον* (25, 6.) Meantime there was an active interchange of missiles between the two contending parties; but the Athenians succeeded in destroying the greater part of the stockade.

About this time the Syracusans received some augmentation to their land forces from their Greek allies of Sicily (*Σικελιῶται*); and being informed of the expected arrival of an armament from Athens under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, determined to make an attempt upon the enemy by sea and land before the arrival of these reinforcements. They prepared for the naval attack by shortening, lowering, and strengthening the prows of their ships, in imitation of the

Corinthians; which alteration, as the Athenian prows were high and narrow, would give them an advantage when striking with the prow (ἀντίπρωροι), as well as the means of preventing the Athenians from breaking their line (the διέκπλους); while another favourite manœuvre of the Athenians, that of moving round the enemy with the view of laying their ships alongside their opponents, and boarding them (the περίπλους), would be frustrated by the want of space, now that the Athenians were confined to a small part of the harbour.[1]

While Gylippus advanced from the city against the Athenian lines, the hoplitæ stationed at the Olympieium with the cavalry and light troops of Syracuse threatened the opposite side of the enemy's wall (ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσῄει τῷ τείχει, 37, 2). The attack, it seems, was made near the two extremities of the Athenian position, but upon opposite sides of the circumvallation: eighty Syracusan ships then advanced against the Athenian ships, to the great surprise of the Athenians, who were not in expectation of a naval attack. But speedily manning seventy-five ships, they advanced against the enemy, when an engagement ensued, which lasted a great part of the day, but terminated with little loss on either side, except that one or two Athenian ships were sunk by the enemy.

[1] Thucyd. 7, 36, 3. Diodorus (13, 10) says that by means of the low prows of the Syracusan ships, they were often enabled to sink the Athenians by a single blow. This appears to have been the commencement of that great change in the construction of the ancient galleys of war, by which the most projecting part of the metallic prow was placed below the water. See some remarks on this subject in reference to a brazen prow found on the site of the battle of Actium, in the first volume (second series) of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, p. 249, *seq.*

During the following day, the Syracusans reposed; while Nicias, in expectation of a renewal of the attack, moored some vessels of burden in front of the stockade which he had erected in the sea before his triremes, to answer the purpose of a closed harbour: *ὁλκάδας προώρμισε πρὸ τοῦ σφετέρου σταυρώματος, ὃ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀντὶ λιμένος κληστοῦ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπεπήγει* (38, 2.) An opening of 200 feet (*δύο πλέθρα*, 38, 3) between the vessels of burden afforded egress to his ships, as well as a retreat in case of pressure from the enemy. The next day the attempt of the Syracusans was renewed by land and by sea; when, partly by renewing the attack at an unexpected moment, and partly through the annoyance given by light vessels which moved round the Athenian ships, as well as in consequence of the improvements which had been made in the Syracusan ships, the Athenians were obliged to retreat, with the loss of seven ships sunk, and a great number of men killed or taken: but the enemy was prevented from entering the stockade by the *dolphins*, or weights attached for that purpose to the yards of the ships of burden: *ἔπειτα, αὐτοὺς αἱ κεραῖαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔσπλων αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁλκάδων δελφινοφόροι ἠρμέναι ἐκώλυον.* (41, 2.) By the effect of these, one of the Syracusan ships was destroyed, and another was taken, together with the men belonging to it. The result of this encounter inspired the Syracusans with great hopes of becoming superior by sea as well as on shore; and they were preparing for further offensive operations, when the arrival of Demosthenes and Eurymedon with the reinforcement from Athens, which consisted of 73 ships and 5000 hoplitæ, with a large force of light-armed, made an entire change in their feelings,—as they little expected that when the Lacedæmonians had established

themselves at Deceleia, within sight of Athens, the Athenians would have been capable of sending forth such an armament.

Demosthenes, desirous of profiting by this effect of his arrival, and of avoiding such ill consequences as had arisen from the dilatory conduct of Nicias, resolved either to take Syracuse, or to withdraw the entire armament. Perceiving that the counterwork of the Syracusans on Epipolæ, which interrupted the Athenian circumvallation, consisted of a single wall, he resolved upon making an attempt to carry it, and then to attack the camp of Gylippus: *ὁρῶν τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ᾧ ἐκώλυσαν περιτειχίσαι σφᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἁπλοῦν τε ὄν,—καὶ, εἰ ἐπικρατήσειέ τις τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὖθις τοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς στρατοπέδου, ῥᾳδίως ἂν*, &c. (42, 4.) We have seen that *παρατείχισμα* was the word employed by Nicias, in his dispatch to Athens, in describing the *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος* of the Syracusans. Gylippus now added to his intrenched or walled camp of Temenitis three similarly protected positions or outworks (*προτειχίσματα*) on the ascent of Epipolæ, and a *τείχισμα* (43, 3), or redoubt, at Euryalus,—all manned by the Syracusans or their allies. And thus it appears that the Syracusans had now a system of outworks covering Achradina and Temenitis, and occupying the whole northern side of Epipolæ. But even thus outflanked, and threatened in the rear, the Athenians were still able, by their numerical strength, to maintain their position on the southern cliffs of Epipolæ, in face of Temenitis, from whence they extended nearly to the Anapus, and thus blockaded every part of Achradina, except its outlets towards the north.

Demosthenes began his operations by laying waste

the enemy's lands near the Anapus: the only resistance he met with was from the cavalry and light troops at Olympieium. He next made a direct attack upon the cross-wall (*παρατείχισμα*, 43, 1) by machinery, but was not successful: his machines were burnt by the enemy who defended the walls, and his troops were repulsed by their other forces. He then concerted with Nicias and the other generals an attack upon the enemy's extreme right at Euryalus; having carried which, his intention appears to have been to take the *ἐγκάρσιον* in reverse, which wall we may suppose to have now extended beyond the line of the Athenian circumvallation, nearly at a right angle to it, in the direction of Euryalus. He then intended to attack the camp of Gylippus, or hoped at least to complete the Athenian circumvallation. It was resolved that Nicias should remain in charge of the camp, while Demosthenes, Eurymedon, and Menander, taking with them five days' provision, as well as masons and all things necessary for the erection of a wall, should endeavour to surprise the enemy's fortified post (*τείχισμα*) at Euryalus. In this they succeeded, having ascended by the same pass through which the Athenians had gained Epipolæ on their first arrival (*κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ᾗπερ καὶ ἡ προτέρα στρατιὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέβη*, 43, 3). A part of the garrison was slain, the remainder retired, and gave the alarm to those who occupied the three other outworks (*προτείχισματα*), as well as to 600 Syracusans who were in charge of that part of Epipolæ, and who advanced to the support of the others, but, after a brave resisttance, were turned by the Athenians.

The latter now advanced to the Syracusan cross-wall (*παρατείχισμα*), and began to pull down the battlements (*τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρον*, 43, 5), when the Syracusans

and their allies issued from their works (ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων), headed by Gylippus.[1] These at first were unable to resist the enemy; but the latter having, in the confidence of victory, advanced in disorder, were attacked and defeated by the Bœotians at a moment when, although the greater part of the Athenians had attained the heights, some were still on the ascent. The confusion soon became complete. If (adds the historian) there is a difficulty in describing a battle by day, how shall the occurrences of a νυκτομαχία (44, 2) be detailed? Though the moon shone brightly, there was not always sufficient light to distinguish a friend from a foe. The watchword of the Athenians, by its frequent repetition aloud, became known to the enemy, and no longer gave confidence to the Athenians. The singing of the pæan, too, by the Doric allies of the Athenians, as well as by the enemy, was another misfortune, as it left them quite uncertain as to the numbers of the enemy around them. Driven back upon the cliffs of Epipolæ, through which there are only a few narrow passages, (στενῆς οὔσης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν παλινκαταβάσεως, 44, 8,) many perished in throwing themselves over the cliffs; and of those who reached the plain in safety, many of the men recently arrived were unable, from their ignorance of the place, to find their way back to the camp; but, wandering in the night, were cut down in the morning by the cavalry of the Syracusans.

The next day the Syracusans erected two trophies: one at the entrance of Epipolæ, the other where the

[1] We have seen that Thucydides described the enclosure of Temenitis itself as a προτείχισμα.

Bœotians first opposed the enemy (*ἐπί τε ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς ᾗ ἡ πρόσβασις, καὶ κατὰ τὸ χωρίον ᾗ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ πρῶτον ἀντέστησαν*, 45, 1). This entrance of Epipolæ was doubtless no other than the pass of Euryalus, by which the Athenians had ascended. A truce was then agreed upon, for the purpose of delivering to the Athenians their slain.

This failure left no hope of accomplishing the object of the expedition. Demosthenes, therefore, now urged in council his other alternative,—an immediate return to Athens; and the more so, as his active opponent had instantly departed for the purpose of collecting land forces from the other parts of Sicily. A great part of the Athenian camp was moreover in a marshy place; the unhealthy season had commenced, and the men were dispirited. But Nicias would not consent to depart without instructions from Athens. Demosthenes and Eurymedon then urged a removal to Thapsus or Catana, from whence the land forces might subsist themselves upon the lands of the enemy, and where the ships would have space for their movements. But Nicias still entertained hopes, founded partly upon the distressed state of the Syracusan treasury, but chiefly upon a party within the walls of Syracuse, with whom he entertained a correspondence. No measures of departure therefore had been taken, when Gylippus returning to Syracuse with numerous auxiliaries, about the same time that a reinforcement of hoplitæ arrived from the Peloponnesus by the circuitous route of Libya and Selinus, the Syracusans prepared for a general attack upon the enemy by sea and land. Meantime sickness increased in the Athenian camp, and Nicias consented that orders should be issued for a departure at the shortest notice; when an occurrence

intervened which sealed the fate of this unfortunate armament.

A total eclipse of the moon, on the 27th of August, 413 B. C., was considered by most of the Athenians as an omen (ἐνθύμιον, 50, 4) which warned the commanders to desist from departure; and Nicias, who was somewhat superstitious, leaning to this opinion, the sacred interpreters pronounced that it required a delay of thrice nine days. The Syracusans were rejoiced to hear of this, and, with the view of preventing the enemy from establishing himself in any other part of Sicily, determined to attack his ships. As a previous measure, they exercised their troops for some days, and then made a demonstration on the Athenian walls, where, the approach being narrow, the Athenians suffered a loss of seventy horses and some hoplitæ in retiring into the gates of their intrenched camp, from which they had issued (51).

On the following day the Syracusans advanced with seventy-six ships, while their infantry proceeded against the Athenian walls. A general action ensued by sea, the Athenians engaging with eighty-six ships. The Syracusans defeated their opponents in the centre, which gave them the means of cutting off and destroying, in the bay of Dascon, the Athenian right, under Eurymedon, who, in his endeavours to outflank his adversary, had approached very near the land in that part of the great harbour, ἐν τῷ κοίλῳ καὶ μυχῷ τοῦ λιμένος.[1] (52, 2.) Eurymedon himself was slain.[2] Gylippus now,—with a view to occupy the shore, and to destroy the defeated Athenian sailors who should

[1] πρὸς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Δάσκωνα καλούμενον. Diodor. 13, 13.

[2] According to Diodorus, seven Athenian vessels were sunk on this occasion, and Eurymedon was slain *after having landed.*

land upon it from their ships, as well as to assist the Syracusan ships in dragging away the enemy's defeated vessels, which had not been able to enter the stockaded refuge at the Athenian camp, but had drifted (*καταφερομένας*, 53, 1) along the shore, — advanced with a portion of the army along the mole (*χηλῇ*) which separated the marsh Lysimeleia from the sea. He was opposed by the Tyrseni,[1] who drove some of the leading files into the marsh; after which, reinforcements arrived on both sides, when the Athenians prevailed, killing a few of the enemy's hoplitæ. By this fortunate occurrence the greater part of the Athenian ships were saved, and brought within the stockade; but eighteen were taken on this day by the enemy, who put all the men on board to death. An attempt was then made to burn the Athenian ships, by sending against them an old ship of burden (*ὁλκάδα παλαιὰν*, 53, 3), filled with combustibles. The wind was favourable, but the Athenians met the fire-ship with materials for extinguishing fire (*σβεστήρια κωλύματα*, 53, 4), and thereby prevented its approach.

Thucydides has not informed us, in any part of his narrative, of the numbers of land forces on either side, but he has named the allies of each party. On that of the Athenians there were troops from about thirty states of Greece, in alliance with or subjection to Athens, added to those of the Greek cities of Thurium and Metapontum in Italy, those of Naxus, Catana, and Egesta in Sicily, (Agrigentum remained neutral,) some Iapyges and Tyrrheni, and the greater part of the Siculi. The Syracusans were assisted from Sicily

[1] The Tyrsenian or Tyrrhenian hoplitæ were armed like the Greeks, as we perceive from numerous monuments lately discovered in Tyrrhenia.

by the Greek cities Camarina, Himera, Gela, and Selinus, and by some of the Siculi; from Greece by Sparta, Corinth, Leucas, and Ambracia, and by some Arcadians, Sicyonii, and Bœotians.

The Syracusans, having now become masters of the great harbour, aimed at nothing less than the capture of the entire armament; and with this view they began to close the entrance by anchoring triremes moored across the opening, together with sailing vessels and barges (*τριήρεσι πλαγίαις, καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἀκάτοις, ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ὁρμίζοντες*, 59, 3).[1] The Athenian commanders, in notifying to the Catanians their intention of sailing from Syracuse, had imprudently authorized a suspension of the supplies which they had been in the habit of receiving from thence, and in consequence had now to add the prospect of starvation to their other difficulties. Thus circumstanced, they found it prudent to abandon their upper walls, to contract their fortification round the ships to the smallest compass sufficient to comprehend their sick and stores (*τὰ μὲν τείχη τὰ ἄνω ἐκλιπεῖν, πρὸς δὲ αὐταῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπολαβόντες διατειχίσματι ὅσον οἷόν τε ἐλάχιστον*, &c., 60, 2), and leaving a force to protect it, to place all the rest of the infantry on board of the best ships, and to hazard a general naval action; if victorious, to proceed to Catana; and if not, to burn the ships, and to endeavour to reach by land some friendly state, whether Hellenic or barbaric, that is to say, either of the Greek colonies or of the Siculi.

They descended therefore from the upper walls on

[1] According to Thucydides, the width of the entrance of the bay of Syracuse was eight stades: the true measurement is 1200 yards, or about six stades. Diodorus (13, 14) says the Syracusans were three days employed in this operation.

the southern cliffs of Epipolæ,[1] (*ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄνω τειχῶν ὑποκατέβησαν*, 60, 3,) and manned about 110 ships: every hoplite, who by age was suited to the service, was obliged to embark; and to them were added many bow-men and javelin-men of Acarnania and other foreign states. Nicias made a speech to his troops, in which he insisted upon the advantage to be derived from the grappling-irons (*χεῖρες σιδήρεαι*) with which the Athenian ships had been fitted, as they would render boarding easy, after which the hoplitæ embarked had only to do their duty. But Gylippus—to whom every thing which now passed in the enemy's camp seems to have been known—had already provided a covering of leather for the prows of his ships, to obviate the effect of the grapples (*τὰς γὰρ πρώρας καὶ τῆς νεὼς ἄνω ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεβύρσωσαν*, 65, 3); and he remarked, in a speech addressed to his troops, that 'the crowd of landsmen whom the enemy had placed on board, and their numerous ships, forced to act in a small space, could not fail to create confusion.'

Nicias drew out the remainder of the land forces on the sea-side, while Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus advanced with the fleet, directly across the great harbour, against the barrier of ships at the entrance, with the intention of forcing it: *εὐθὺς ἔπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ τὸν καταληφθέντα* (*al.* *-ειφθέντα, παραληφθέντα, -ειφθέντα*) *διέκπλουν, βουλόμενοι βιάσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἔξω.*[2] (69, 4.) Of the Syracusan ships,

[1] *τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἔστησε παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον.* (Plut. Nic. 24.) This is the only datum, I believe, for the situation of the temple of Hercules.

[2] The Scholiast reads *καταλειφθέντα*, and supposes that an opening had been left in the *ζεῦγμα*: but the nature of the Athenian attack

which in number were nearly as before, some were stationed for the protection of the barrier, the remainder round the harbour, in order to fall upon the enemy on every side, while the land forces were similarly disposed on the shore opposite to the ships. Sicanus and Agatharchus commanded on the right and left; Pythen, the Corinthian, in the centre. The Athenians, having arrived at the barrier, succeeded at first in overpowering some of the ships which composed it, and were endeavouring to detach the fastenings, when they were attacked on every side by the Syracusans: *ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσέμισγον τῷ ζεύγματι, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ῥύμῃ ἐπιπλέοντες ἐκράτουν τῶν τεταγμένων νεῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο λύειν τὰς κλῆσεις· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο*, &c. (70, 2.)

The action soon became general throughout the harbour. In such a crowd of vessels, amounting together to near 200, attacks with the beak (*ἐμβολαὶ*) were much less common than those alongside (*προσβολαί*). Great skill was shown on both sides by the officers (*κυβερνῆται*), and promptitude by the seamen (*ναῦται*); nor was there less emulation on the part of the soldiers embarked (*ἐπιβάται*), in their attempts to board their adversaries, after the discharge of arrows, darts, and stones, as the opponent ships approached each other. So great was the noise, that those who gave out the orders (*κελευσταὶ*) could seldom make themselves heard. At length, the Athenians were every where turned to flight.

The land forces on both sides had beheld the spectacle with the utmost anxiety. Of the Athenians,

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upon the barrier is adverse to this supposition, which is otherwise unlikely.

some endeavoured to assist such of the ships as escaped from capture, and took refuge at the camp; others turned their attention to the safety of their walls,—for there was now a probability, observes the historian, that they might experience what they had caused the Lacedæmonians to suffer at Pylus, who, after the destruction of their ships, had lost also their men on shore. But they still possessed about sixty serviceable ships, while the Syracusans had not so many as fifty. Demosthenes proposed, therefore, to endeavour again to force the passage early the next morning. Nicias consented to make the attempt, but the seamen refused to embark; and so completely were they morally subdued, that, during the second day after the battle, they allowed the Syracusans to tow away all their own ships, except a few which had been burnt by the Athenians.

In the mean time, Hermocrates, on the first of these two days, had proposed to the Syracusan commanders to send some of their men to break up the roads and occupy the passes, as he feared greatly the effect of such a land force, should it obtain a footing in the interior of Sicily. But his proposition was overruled, on the ground that the Syracusans were fatigued with their exertions, and wished to enjoy the festival of Hercules, which happened to be on that day.[1]

Hermocrates, therefore, in order to gain time, and prevent the Athenians from marching that night, sent persons, in friendly guise, to the gate of their camp, desiring them not to march, as the Syracusans were guarding the passes;—a stratagem which not only

[1] They recovered possession of the temple of Hercules when the Athenians abandoned their upper walls.—Plut. Nic. 24.

produced the desired effect, but induced the Athenians to remain all the ensuing day, in order to furnish themselves as much as possible with whatever would be useful on their intended march; while Gylippus and the land forces under him proceeded to block up the roads, and occupy the fords and other places where the enemy was likely to pass.

On the third day after the battle, the Athenians, leaving their sick and wounded in the camp, and carrying with them a very insufficient store of provisions, in the expectation of meeting a supply from some of the friendly Siculi, marched in two bodies, the first commanded by Nicias, the second by Demosthenes. The hoplitæ in each body formed a hollow quadrangle, (*τὸ δὲ ἐχώρει ἐν πλαισίῳ τεταγμένον*, 78, 2,) within which were the baggage, the light-armed, and the followers (*τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἐντὸς εἶχον οἱ ὁπλῖται*). They found the ferry of the Anapus occupied by the enemy, but made good their passage, though annoyed in their subsequent march by his horse and light-armed. After a march of 40 stades, they halted for the night on a hill, from whence they advanced in the morning 20 stades, and then encamped in a plain, (*χωρίον ἄπεδόν τι*, 78, 4,) for the sake of obtaining provisions and water, which latter was scarce during a distance of many stades on the road they were about to take. Their march was directed upon Catana, by the vale of the Anapus, and round the western side of Mount Hybla, the maritime road from Syracuse to Catana being closed against them.

It appears, therefore, that they crossed the Anapus near the modern bridge over that river, situated about a mile and a half from the head of the great harbour,

and that, having marched four miles further along the right bank of the Anapus, they halted for the night on the heights about a mile south of the Cavetta, a precipitous gorge so called, where the Anapus issues from the heights of Mount Hybla, and is immediately joined by the branch from Floridia and S. Paulo. The inhabited plain into which they moved on the following morning is evidently that of Floridia, and their position appears to have been near the site of that town. Here they remained during that day, while the Syracusans were employed in obstructing their line of march, and in fortifying a strong height in that direction, called the Acræan rock, on either side of which there was a precipitous ravine: *ἦν δὲ λόφος καρτερὸς καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ χαράδρα κρημνώδης· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀκραῖον λέπας.*[1] (78, 5.)

On the following day the Athenians moved forward, but were so much annoyed by the enemy's horsemen and light-armed, that they returned to their former station, though it afforded no supplies, and the communication around them was cut off by the enemy's cavalry. The next morning they again advanced to the fortified hill, (*τὸν λόφον τὸν ἀποτετειχισμένον*, 79, 1,) but found the enemy so well protected by their wall, and by the light-armed on the steep slope of the height behind them, that the Athenians were again obliged to retire, having been somewhat disheartened also by a

[1] The *Ἀκραῖον λέπας* appears not to have had any connection with Acræ, a colony of Syracuse, of which there are considerable remains at Acremonte, near Palazzuolo. Acræ is about 20 miles (24 M. P., Antonin. et Peuting. Itin.) due west of Syracuse, whereas the Acræan rock was in a north-westerly direction, and not more than ten or eleven miles distant from Syracuse. It has not yet been identified.

thunder-storm. Gylippus, at the same time, sent a division of his army into the rear of his opponents, to obstruct their retreat in the direction by which they had come, (*ἀποτειχιοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν*, 79, 4,) but they were able to frustrate this attempt, and, advancing further into the plain, they remained there that night. In moving forward the next day, they were surrounded by the enemy, many of their rear and stragglers were cut off, and many others were wounded by missiles; so that they had not advanced more than five or six stades, before they found it necessary to halt in the plain, where they remained that night, and where Nicias and Demosthenes determined to change their line of march, and, instead of pursuing the route towards Catana, to turn towards the other side of Sicily, and to take the direction of Camarina or of Gela.

Endeavouring to deceive the enemy, therefore, by making fires, they moved off in the night, but not without some confusion; so that the division of Demosthenes, amounting to more than half the army, became separated from that of Nicias, and followed at some distance in a less orderly manner. In the morning (*ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἕῳ*, 80, 4) the whole army arrived near the sea, and fell into the Helorine way (*τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ἑλωρινὴν καλουμένην*), which they pursued until they arrived at the river Cacyparis, which they intended to ascend, (*παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἴοιεν ἄνω διὰ μεσογείας*,) hoping to meet some of the Siculi, to whom they had sent for that purpose. Hence it appears that the distance between the Athenian camp in the plain of Floridia, and the Helorine way near the sea, to the northward of the Cacyparis, was about two-thirds of a night's march; for they moved in the night (*ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ*, 80, 3), and the beginning of the night had been consumed

in deliberation. The distance of the Cassibili from Floridia is about ten miles by the road; this river, therefore, being moreover the first of any magnitude to the south of Syracuse, seems clearly to be the ancient Cacyparis.

At the river the Athenians found a Syracusan guard obstructing the ford with a wall and palisade (*ἀποτειχίζουσάν τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦσαν τὸν πόρον*, 80, 5), an effect apparently of the provision made by Gylippus and the Syracusans for occupying the fords and passes round Syracuse (*τῶν ῥείθρων καὶ ποταμῶν τὰς διαβάσεις ἐφύλασσον*, 74, 2), before the Athenians had moved from thence, and while it was yet uncertain in what direction they would march. The Athenians, having forced the passage of the Cacyparis, moved on towards the Erineus. The division of Demosthenes, which was 50 stades in the rear of that of Nicias, was overtaken by the Syracusans about the hour of dinner (*περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν*, 81, 1), and had no more than time to form in order of battle, when they were surrounded and attacked in a walled enclosure of olive-trees, having a road through it, into which they had retired (*ἀνειληθέντες ἔς τι χωρίον, ᾧ κύκλῳ μὲν τείχιον περιῆν, ὁδὸς δὲ ἔνθεν τε καὶ ἔνθεν, ἐλάας δὴ οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχεν, ἐβάλλοντο περισταδόν*, 81, 3). Here they suffered so much during the remainder of the day from the enemy's missiles,—for he avoided close action,—that, when at night Gylippus, in his own name and that of the Syracusans and their allies, offered the Athenians their lives on condition of submission, they accepted the terms. They were 6000 in number: each man, in delivering up his arms, placed the money he had with him in his shield: the whole amount filled four shields. The prisoners were then marched off to Syracuse.

The next day, Gylippus continued in pursuit of Nicias, who, in the course of the preceding day, had arrived at the Erineus, and, having crossed that river, had halted on a height beyond it. Here he was informed by the Syracusans of the surrender of Demosthenes; and having been permitted to send a horseman to assure himself of the fact, he then made offer to the enemy to defray all the expenses which the Syracusans had incurred by the war, and to deliver an Athenian as a hostage for each talent. But Gylippus and the Syracusans rejected these conditions, and assailed the enemy on all sides with missiles. This lasted until the evening, when the Athenians found themselves in great distress for want of provisions: during the night they made an ineffectual attempt to retreat, but were unable to elude the enemy's vigilance; and it was not until the morning that they were once more in motion, when they hastened forward to the river Assinarus (*ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσίναρον ποταμὸν*, 84, 2), urged by thirst and the hope of finding, if they could pass the river, some protection from the horsemen and light-armed, who incessantly annoyed them. But the enemy attacked them at the passage of the Assinarus, and thus threw them into confusion while pressing forward to the stream, which flowed between precipitous banks (*ἦν δὲ κρημνῶδες*, 84, 4). Some were carried down the current (*ἐμπαλασσόμενοι κατέῤῥεον*, 84, 3), and many fell either by the missiles of the enemy's light-armed, or by the swords of the Peloponnesians who descended into the ravine, or by the horsemen, when any attempted to escape. The water, muddy as it was, and discoloured by blood, was still eagerly drunk by the Athenians. Nicias now surrendered to Gylippus, to whom and the Lacedæmonians he left the disposal

of his own fate, requesting, at the same time, that the slaughter should cease: upon which, Gylippus gave orders to make prisoners (ζωγρεῖν ἐκέλευε, 85, 2), and his surviving enemies laid down their arms, including 300 who had made good their passage through the Syracusan guards in the preceding night, but who were speedily overtaken.

The whole number collected, however, was not great; for the loss sustained, as well at the Assinarus as in the preceding attacks, had been more severe than on any occasion during the Sicilian war; and many were concealed by the victorious soldiers, to be sold as slaves for their own profit.

As the route of the Athenians appears to have been changed after forcing the passage of the Cacyparis, and, instead of following up that river to the north-westward, to have been directed to the south-westward upon Camarina, where, as appears from some former transactions (Thucyd. 6, 88), they were likely in their present condition to meet with assistance,—it is probable, that in approaching the site of the modern Noto, they quitted the Helorine way and the vicinity of the sea-shore;—and that, having crossed the river Falconara, probably not far from Noto, they encamped upon a height on the right bank of that river. The day's march, on this supposition, was about twelve miles. The next day they hastened forward to the Assinarus, but their march, under the circumstances, could not have been of more than three or four miles; at which distance, from the Falconara to the south-west, occurs the river Abisso, not far from its exit from the hills of Spaccafurno. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the river Falconara is the ancient Erineus, and the Abisso the Assinarus; and

consequently, that the Assinarus and Helorus were one and the same river: the latter name having prevailed probably towards the sea, where the city Helorus stood. Examples of a *double* name, under similar circumstances, are not uncommon in ancient geography,—and, we may add, in all ages; for this river, although now known as the Abisso in the lower part of its course, is named Atellari in the upper,[1] possibly a corruption of Assinarus. From the name of the river a festival was celebrated at Syracuse, called the Assinaria.

The prisoners, both the Athenians and their allies, were confined in the stone quarries. Nicias and De-

[1] Fazello, *de Rebus Siculis*, p. 111.—The following considerations may be stated in support of the identity. The Erineus is the only river noticed by Ptolemy (in his text it is Orinus) between Cape Pachynum and Syracuse; from which circumstance, as well as from its mention by Thucydides and other authors, we may infer that it was a river of some importance. Now, there are but two such rivers between the Cassibili or *Cacyparis* and Cape *Pachynum*, namely, the Falconara and the Abisso; and of these the Falconara is not of sufficient magnitude, nor are its banks sufficiently precipitous, for the circumstances of the last defeat of Nicias. But with the Abisso these circumstances perfectly accord. Its modern name alone inclines one to believe that it was the river intended by Thucydides. I am aware that Sicilian antiquaries, under the persuasion that the Falconara is the ancient Assinarus, sometimes name it the Assinaro: this, however, is not an old tradition, but the consequence of a modern opinion, and cannot be adduced as an evidence on the question, any more than the Pizzuta or Guglia which is seen in the plain of *Helorus*, near the sea, a few miles to the southward of Noto, and which is supposed to mark the site of the capture of Nicias, can be taken as a proof of that locality. Its position, in fact, between the two rivers and near the sea, will not agree with the evidence of Thucydides. There can be little doubt that the Pizzuta, like another ancient Guglia of the same kind, near Magnisi, which stood on the great route from Syracuse to the northward, was the sepulchral *stele* of some individual or family.

mosthenes were put to death; the former chiefly at the instigation of the Corinthians, supported by the Syracusans who had been in secret correspondence with Nicias, and contrary to the wishes of Gylippus; for the Lacedæmonians were grateful to Nicias for his conduct in favour of their countrymen taken at Pylus, while they bore a contrary feeling towards Demosthenes, who was the victorious commander at the same place. During eight months, the Athenians and their allies of the Sicilian and Italian Greek cities suffered the extreme of misery in the quarries, exposed without shelter to the sun, and the cold nights of winter, with a scanty allowance of food and water. The other captives, at the end of seventy days, were sold as slaves: all Sicily, says the historian, was filled with them. The whole number made prisoners was about 7000.

Thus ended this imprudent enterprise: a result not unusual in such distant expeditions, but, in the present instance, disastrous in the extreme; chiefly in consequence of the inability of the commander, who, however deserving of the encomium of Thucydides,[1] was unfit for the circumstances in which he was placed; and who was still more unfortunate in having for an opponent one who, although strongly tainted with the Spartan vices of covetousness and dishonesty, was one of the most able commanders whose actions have been recorded in the history of Greece.

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The victory of Gelon at Himera had liberated Sicily from the barbarians for seventy years, or at least had

[1] *ἥκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι, διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν.* Thucyd. 7, 56, 5.

confined them to Panormus and the harbours of the western extremity of the island, when a renewal of the quarrel between the same two republics, Selinus and Egesta, which had brought the Athenians to Syracuse, now caused a renewal of Carthaginian invasion. The Egestæi, no longer supported by Athens, craved assistance from Carthage: an immense armament was sent to Sicily in the spring of the year 410 B.C., and Selinus fell before the Syracusans could come to its assistance. In this year and the three following, the Carthaginians made themselves masters of Himera, Acragas, Gela, and Camarina. Dionysius, a young man who had been attached to the party of Hermocrates, the successful leader of the Syracusans against Nicias, and who had been severely wounded in a combat of factions which had been fatal to Hermocrates, was sent to Gela, with a force of 2000 men and 400 horse, at the moment when Acragas had been already taken, and Gela was threatened as the next object of the invaders. Dionysius succeeded in quelling the internal commotions at Gela, which were the chief obstacle to any hope of successful resistance to the enemy; but the moment appearing favourable to him for obtaining the chief command at home, he led back his forces to Syracuse. He was successful in obtaining the post of military chief, with supreme power (*στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*), but not without a colleague, Hipparinus, whose daughter Dionysius afterwards married.[1]

In the course of a few years, Dionysius reduced to obedience Ætna, Enna, Catana, Naxus, and Leontium, and carried on the war with the Carthaginians with an alternation of success. In the year 397 B. C. he ad-

[1] Diodor. 13, 54, *seq.* Plutarch. Dion. 3. Aristot. Polit. 5, 6.

vanced to the furthest extremity of Sicily, and took Motya, after a most obstinate resistance; but in the following year was himself besieged in Syracuse by a Carthaginian fleet, which occupied all the western and southern side of the great harbour, while an immense army was encamped around Polichne. It was on this occasion that Himilco plundered the great temples of Ceres and Proserpine, built by Gelon from the Carthaginian spoils, which stood in the yet unprotected suburb of Temenium, and applied the materials of the tombs within his reach, particularly that of Gelon and Damareta, to the protection of his camp and the erection of three fortresses, at Plemmyrium, Polichne, and Dascon.[1] But as soon as the Syracusan fleet had been joined by thirty ships from the Peloponnesus and Italy, Dionysius concerted an attack upon the enemy with his brother Leptines, who commanded the fleet. Dionysius marched in the night to the temple of Cyane, and at day-break attacked the enemy by land, while Leptines, with eighty ships, crossed the harbour, and attacked the enemy, unprepared for action, with the most fortunate result. At Dascon, forty of the enemy's penteconters had been drawn up on shore, and some triremes, with the transports of the armament, were at anchor in the adjacent part of the bay. Dascon was assailed simultaneously by some Syracusan triremes and by the cavalry of Dionysius. The Punic

[1] Diodor. 14, 63. Mitford has committed a grievous error in mistaking Temenium, the suburb of Achradina, for Achradina itself. Had Achradina been taken, all Syracuse would have been in possession of the Carthaginians, except the island. But it is evident that neither in this nor in any other of the Carthaginian expeditions against Syracuse did they succeed in effecting a lodgement within the walls.

ships were set on fire: the conflagration spread to the transports, and many of these, detached and floating about the harbour, were taken and brought to the city by some of those who, on account of their youth or age, had been left at home. To the people of Syracuse it was a theatrical spectacle,[1] afforded to them by the vengeance of the two plundered goddesses.

Himilco now submitted to pay 300 talents for permission to retire without impediment to Africa, leaving the Siculi to retreat as they best might into their fortresses, his Iberian auxiliaries to enlist in the service of Syracuse, and his other barbarian allies to become slaves to the Syracusans.[2] Success continued generally to attend Dionysius against the Carthaginians, as well as his other opponents in Sicily. He was equally fortunate in contending with some of the great cities of the southern shores of Italy, and in establishing a permanent influence in others. In the Adriatic he built the city Lissus in the island of that name, and assisted the Parians in colonizing Pharus. At home the course of his authority experienced so little interruption, that he was enabled to employ it in the maintenance of peace and security, in the encouragement of letters and the arts, in building temples of the gods, and generally in the aggrandizement and embellishment of Syracuse, so that it became one of the most beautiful as well as the greatest of Greek cities.[3]

[1] *τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως θεατρικὴν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν θέαν.*—Diodor. 14, 73.

[2] Diodor. 14, 75.

[3] *τεῖχος περιέβαλε τῇ πόλει, τηλικοῦτο τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν περίβολον μέγιστον τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων . . . θεῶν τε ναοὺς κατεσκεύασε καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς αὔξησιν πόλεως καὶ δόξαν.*—Diodor. 15, 13.

The effects and example of the administration of Dionysius continued to be felt during ten years of the reign of his son, Dionysius II., and until they were interrupted by the dissensions between the tyrant and his uncle, Dion, and by the exile of the latter, who returned in B.C. 357, landed at Heracleia, in the Carthaginian territory, at a moment when Dionysius was in Italy, and marched, with continually increasing forces, to Syracuse.[1] Timocrates guarded Epipolæ: the island was secure in the hands of the Dionysians; but Dion having been met on approaching the city by some of the leading citizens favourable to his cause, advanced without opposition to the agora of Achradina, and was followed by the entire force which he had collected from Acragas, Gela, Camarina, and other cities. He then made an oration from the sun-dial which Dionysius I. had erected below the Pentapyla;[2] after which the Syracusans who joined him proceeded to circumvallate the acropolis by a wall, which extended from Port Lacceius to the shore of the great harbour.[3] On the seventh day from Dion's arrival, Dionysius

[1] Diodor. 16, 9. Plutarch. Dion, 25. Many *σημεῖα*, adverse to Dionysius, are reported to have been observed when Dion was approaching Sicily. Among them, the water of the sea near the acropolis was one day found to be sweet and potable (*ἡ προσκλύζουσα πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν θάλασσα μίαν ἡμέραν τὸ ὕδωρ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον παρέσχεν*, Dion, 24). The submarine source called the Occhio della Zilica must always in some degree sweeten the water between it and the fortress, and may sometimes discharge a greater quantity of fresh water than usual; and this the soothsayer may have converted to his own purpose.

[2] *ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ Πεντάπυλα.*—Plutarch. Dion, 29.

[3] *τῶν δὲ Συρακουσίων κατασκευακότων ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διατειχίσματα.*—Diodor. 16, 12. *τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἀπετείχιζεν.*—Plut. Dion, 29.

returned to Syracuse, and entered the acropolis; soon after which he sallied with all his forces against Dion, and a severe contest ensued between the Pentapyla and the not yet completed wall of circumvallation, in which Dion was wounded and nearly taken, but was rescued by the Syracusans, who at length drove the Dionysians, chiefly mercenary troops, within the gates of the citadel. Dionysius now endeavoured to enter into a treaty with Dion; but the latter made pretexts for delay, until the wall was completed between the two harbours, and then rejected the conditions. In the following year, the fleet of Dionysius, under the aged Philistus the historian, was defeated by the Syracusans under Heracleides. Philistus was made prisoner, and put to death, and Dionysius retired to Italy, leaving his son Apollocrates in command of the acropolis.[1] By the influence of Heracleides, Dion was soon afterwards driven into retreat at Leontium, when Nypsius of Neapolis, sent from Locri by Dionysius with a reinforcement to his party, fortunately made good his entrance into the great port, where he anchored near the fountain Arethusa (*περὶ τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν*, Diod. 16, 18), and thus threw succours into the island at the very moment when Apollocrates had agreed upon surrendering to the Syracusans. The latter attacked and destroyed a part of the armament of Nypsius; but while they were rejoicing for the victory, Nypsius made a sortie in the night, surprised the guards of the circumvallation, and forcing open its gates, entered the agora, and was followed by all the Dionysian garrison of the island, who speedily carried conflagration, slaughter, and pillage into every quarter

[1] Diodor. 16, 17, *seq.* Plutarch. Dion. 27, *seq.*

of the city. The next day, Dion, to whom the Syracusans had sent to implore assistance, arrived at Hexapyla (ἧκε πρὸς τὰ Ἑξάπυλα, Diod. 16, 20), where he put his troops in order (διατάξας στρατιώτας), and was met by numerous suppliants begging for his assistance in arresting the work of destruction, which was still in progress. Dion surprised the Dionysians as they were still engaged in plundering the houses, and slew great numbers of them. The remainder escaped into the acropolis.[1] The Syracusans rewarded Dion by declaring him στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, and granted him the honours of a hero (τιμὰς ἀπένειμεν ἡρωϊκάς).

In the year 353 B. C., Dion fell a victim to the treachery of a pretended friend, Callippus, an Athenian,[2] who then obtained the government (ἡγεμονία, Diod. 16, 31), and held it (ἦρξε) thirteen months. An interval of six years then occurred, of which nothing is known, except that the last dynast of Syracuse (τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν Συρακουσίων, Plut. Timol. 1) was named Nysæus, and that he was expelled by Dionysius himself, who thus regained Syracuse after a ten years' exile.[3] The dissensions and the misgovernment which had followed the death of Dion had so impaired the strength of Syracuse, and its influence for the safety of Hellenic Sicily, that the Carthaginians were again tempted to invade the eastern parts of the island. The Syracusans now implored the aid of Corinth, its metropolis, and, in the year 345 B. C., Timoleon was sent to its assistance.[4]

[1] οἱ λοιποὶ συνέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες ἐξέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον.—Diodor. 16, 20.

[2] Diodor. 16, 31. Plutarch. Dion. 57. Corn. Nep. Dion.

[3] Diodor. 16, 68. Plutarch. Timol. 1.

[4] Diodor. 16, 65; 68. Plutarch. Timol. 7.

At the time of his arrival in Sicily, Icetas, a Syracusan who had become tyrant of Leontium, was in alliance with the Carthaginians, and was master of all Syracuse, except the acropolis and the island, still held by Dionysius, but which Icetas had circumvallated and was besieging.[1] Timoleon obtained possession of Tauromenium, defeated Icetas, who advanced against him, near Adranum on Mount Ætna, and entered into alliance with Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, from which place he found means, in spite of the Punic fleet, to throw a body of Corinthians into the island. Here they found 2000 men ready to join them, and an immense provision of warlike stores (*τεθησαυρισμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ*, Timol. 13). Dionysius now resigned his power to Timoleon, and escaping to Catana, was sent to Corinth in a single ship. While Icetas and Mago the Carthaginian were employed in an expedition against Catana, Neon, who commanded in the island, attacked and captured Achradina, the strongest part of the city (*τὸ κράτιστον καὶ ἀθραυστότατον μέρος πόλεως*, Timol. 18), and united it by works of defence with the acropolis (*συνάψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν*). Timoleon, joined by a body of Corinthians, who, in the absence of the Carthaginian ships, had crossed the strait at Rhegium, now marched at the head of 4000 men to Syracuse, and, to his astonishment, found, on his arrival, that the entire Carthaginian armament had suddenly quitted Syracuse, and had sailed for Africa. Icetas still remained master of Tycha, Epipolæ, and Neapolis; but Timoleon, dividing his forces into three

[1] *Ὁ γὰρ Ἰκέτης μάχῃ νενικηκὼς Διονύσιον, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῶν Συρακουσῶν κατειληφὼς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον συνεσταλμένον αὐτὸς συνεπολιόρκει καὶ συμπεριετείχιζε.*—Plutarch. Timol. 9.

portions, advanced from Achradina against Icetas in Tycha, attacked those in Neapolis from towards the Anapus, and was completely victorious, as well in those points as in Epipolæ.[1] His first action, when master of the entire city, was to invite the citizens to destroy the works of the tyrants, regardless of their beauty and perfection (*τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς*); and, accordingly, they subverted not only the fortress (*τὴν ἄκραν*), but the palaces, and even the tombs, of the tyrants (*τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν τυράννων*).[2] Timoleon proceeded to re-establish and reform the republican institutions, built *δικαστήρια*, or courts of justice, in the place of the *τυραννεῖον*, and appointed an annual magistracy, namely, that of the *ἀμφίπολος* of Jupiter Olympius, which continued to the time of Diodorus.[3] Timoleon received heroic honours from the Syracusans; and during the six years which intervened between these events and his death, he overthrew the tyrants of Messana, Catana, and Leontium, introduced new

[1] Diodorus asserts (16, 68) that Timoleon, following up his victory over Icetas near Adranum, entered Syracuse before him; and that in the next year he was in possession of all the city (*τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως*, 69) except Achradina and Neapolis, which remained in the hands of Icetas. But this is not consistent with the continuance of Timoleon at Adranum in the former year, or with his having been joined near Messana by the troops from Rhegium, before he advanced against Syracuse: and it is still more inconsistent with his last victorious attack upon Icetas, when it clearly appears that the latter had been previously in possession of all Syracuse except the island and Achradina, which had been taken by Neon.—Plutarch. Timol. 19, *seq.*

[2] *Τιμολέων δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν νῆσον . . . . τὰς μὲν κατὰ νήσου ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα κατέσκαψεν.*—Diodor. 16, 70.

[3] Diodor. 16, 70. Diodorus was thirty years employed on his history, which terminated at the year B.C. 60. Diodor. 1, 4.

colonies into Syracuse, Acragas, Gela, and Camarina, adorned Agyrium, the native place of Diodorus, with public buildings, particularly a theatre, which was inferior only to that of Syracuse, — cemented the alliance of all these cities with Syracuse,—and gained a complete victory over the Carthaginians on the river Crimisus, in the year B. C. 340; the effect of which was to confine the Africans, by treaty, to the parts of the island westward of the river Lycus or Halycus,[1] between Selinus and Agrigentum, the same boundary which had been fixed at the peace made with them by Dionysius I. in the year B. C. 383,[2] but which still left them the harbours of Panormus, Drepanum, and Lilybæum,[3]—the basis, in fact, of all their power and operations in Sicily.

The state of tranquillity in which the success of Timoleon left the southern and western parts of Sicily continued to his death in B. C. 337, and for many years later, until Agathocles, son of Carcinus, a potter, after some fruitless efforts, obtained in 317 B. C. uncontrolled power at Syracuse, and in 307, in imitation of the successors of Alexander, assumed the title of *Βασιλεύς*.[4] His restless, cruel, and ambitious temper was destructive of the peace and prosperity of Sicily, but seems not to have been injurious to Syracuse

[1] Diodor. 16, 77, *seq.*; 19, 2. Plutarch. Timol. 25, *seq.*

[2] Diodor. 15, 17.

[3] Lilybæum was a cape in the district of Motya, sheltering a fine harbour on its northern side, and one of the nearest points of Sicily to Africa: hence its importance to the Carthaginians. Under their protection, a city arose on the cape, which extinguished Motya and survived the destruction of Carthage, as the coins inscribed ΛΙΛΥΒΑΙΙΤΑΝ indicate. It still flourishes under its Arabic or Punic name Marsala (from *Marsa*, harbour).

[4] Diodor. 20, 54.

itself, which increased in magnificence under his administration.

Defeated in the year 310 B. C. by the Carthaginians, on the river Himera, between Gela and Acragas, he instantly resolved to endeavour to compensate for this disaster by the bold measure of leaving Syracuse to be defended by his brother Antandrus, while he himself carried the war into Africa,—thus setting an example which, followed by the Romans, led to the destruction of Carthage. He landed in Africa in the middle of August.[1] Having met with extraordinary success, he sent advice of it to his brother at Syracuse, where the intelligence arrived just as Hamilcar had assailed the walls with machinery, and had taken a *μεσοπύργιον*,[2] though without having been able to keep it. On receiving intelligence of the state of affairs in Africa, Hamilcar raised the siege, and sent a part of his army home. In the following year (B. C. 309) he returned to Syracuse, encamped at Polichne, and renewed the investment of the city, but was made prisoner in a night attack upon Euryalus. This disaster caused the whole Carthaginian armament to retire from Syracuse; and Antandrus sent the head of Hamilcar to his brother in Africa,[3] who, thus encouraged, continued to carry on a successful war, and even threatened Carthage itself. In the year 307, however, he found

[1] Diodor. 20, 5. The date is determined by an eclipse of the sun, which happened on August 15 (310 B. C.), the day after his arrival.

[2] Diodor. 20, 16. To be able to retain a *μεσοπύργιον*, it was necessary that the tower at either end should be taken. An interesting example of the capture of a *μεσοπύργιον* occurred in the siege of Platæa in the year 429 B. C., when a portion of the besieged Platæenses made their escape by taking one of the mesopyrgia of the circumvallation.—'Travels in Northern Greece,' ii. p. 362.

[3] Diodor. 20, 30.

himself under the necessity of quitting Africa, in consequence of the state of affairs in Sicily, where the Carthaginians, Acragantines, and a strong party of Syracusans, although not united with one another, were all hostile to Agathocles. Soon after his return from Africa, his two sons, whom he had left there, were slain by their own troops, who made terms with the Carthaginians. Agathocles passed the remainder of his reign in prosecuting senseless and sanguinary contests in Sicily, until, in B. C. 289, he was poisoned by Mænon of Segesta, whom he had enslaved when he destroyed that city. Mænon was instigated to the deed by Archagathus, the grandson of Agathocles, who murdered also his uncle Agathocles, and was himself assassinated by Mænon.[1]

The Syracusans returned for a moment to democratic institutions, confiscated the personal property of Agathocles, and threw down his statues, but were soon under the necessity of conferring the strategia upon Icetas, as their leader against Mænon, who had made an alliance with the Carthaginians.[2] Icetas held the supreme authority for nine years, during which he was opposed to Phintias, tyrant of Acragas, and to the Africans, with varying success; but the latter at length became so formidable, that Acragas itself joined Syracuse and Leontium in craving the aid of Pyrrhus, who had married a daughter of Agathocles, and was

[1] Diodor. 21, ecl. 12.

[2] Diodor. 21, ecl. 13. Fifty years had elapsed since the death of Icetas, Syracusan tyrant of Leontium; and as we often find the same names in the alternate generations, the Strategus Icetas may have been his grandson. The name occurs a third time as that of a Syracusan philosopher, who held that the heavens stood still, while the earth moved. Theophr. ap. Cicer. Tusc. Qu. 4, 39.

then in Italy opposed to the Romans. Pyrrhus, in possession of Syracuse, and joined by the forces of the other great cities, soon drove the Carthaginians to the western end of the island, and was even master, for a short time, of Panormus and Eryx, confining the enemy to Lilybæum alone, where all his efforts against them failed; but his extortions and his preparations for carrying the war into Africa so alienated the Sicilians from him, that many joined the Mamertines of Messana, who still resisted Pyrrhus, and some united with the Carthaginians; so that, towards the end of the third year, Pyrrhus found himself under the necessity of returning to Italy, from whence he was soon afterwards expelled.[1]

In the same year (275 B. C.) the office of strategus autocrator was conferred upon Hieron, son of Hierocles, a man equally acceptable to the Syracusans for his personal qualities and for his descent from the *hero* Gelon. At the commencement of the first Punic war, he found himself in opposition to the Romans, in consequence of the aid given by the latter to the Mamertines, who were still at war with Syracuse; but he soon had the prudence to make terms with such a formidable adversary, and reaped the benefit of it by the quiet possession, during the remainder of his long reign, of the Syracusan territory, as well as of Tauromenium, Leontium, Megara, Acræ, Neetum, and Helorus, while the remainder of Sicily continued to be the principal scene of the first Punic war, which terminated in 241 B. C. Hieron became king (*βασιλεὺς*) in the year 269, visited Rome in 237, and died in 216.

[1] Diodor. 22, ecl. 11. 14. Plutarch. Pyrr. 22, *seq.* Liv. Epit. 14. Appian, Samnit. 11. 12.

The advantages which for fifty years had been derived by both parties from the alliance of Syracuse and Rome, were lost in a moment by the conduct of Hieronymus, the grandson and successor of Hieron, one of whose first actions was to make an alliance with Carthage for the purpose of expelling the Romans from Sicily. This design, at the end of little more than a year, was fatal to Hieronymus, who was driven from Syracuse, and murdered at Leontium by the democratic Syracusans, who proceeded to destroy all the remaining members of the family of Hieron, consisting of three daughters, with their husbands, and two unmarried grand-daughters. Zoippus alone, who had been sent by Hieronymus to Egypt, escaped. Nevertheless, the party favourable to the Romans was unsuccessful in maintaining the alliance. Hippocrates and Epicydes, two Carthaginians of Syracusan extraction, who had made the treaty with Hieronymus, and had been deputed to conduct the affairs of Carthage in Sicily, had the dexterity to cause themselves, after the extinction of the royal race, to be appointed strategi. Notwithstanding a decree of the Syracusans in favour of alliance with the Romans, they took an early opportunity to occupy Leontium, and, on pretence of securing that place, adopted hostile measures against the neighbouring allies of Rome.[1]

M. Claudius Marcellus immediately attacked and occupied Leontium, but Hippocrates and Epicydes had escaped from its citadel to Herbessus. Hither 8000 Syracusans of the party opposed to them directed their march. In front, however, there happened to be 600 Cretans who had been in the service of Hieronymus, and were well inclined to Hannibal, as

[1] Polyb. 7, 2, *seq.* Liv. 24, 4, *seq.*

having been indebted to him for their liberty when his prisoners at the Trasimene lake; and there were other mercenaries among the 8000, from whom little energy could be expected. Partly by the influence of Hippocrates and Epicydes over these troops, and partly by false accounts of severities exercised by the Romans at Leontium, the whole force was induced by the two generals to return to Syracuse, the leaders of the opposite party having fled on perceiving the change of sentiment in the army. It was not until one of the gates of Hexapylum had been opened, and the troops of Hippocrates had begun to enter, that the magistrates within interfered,[1] and entreated the citizens not to deliver themselves up to the favourers of tyranny. The fear of the Romans, however, which formed the argument of the party of Hippocrates, prevailed: the other gates were broken down by the favourers of that cause within, and Hippocrates occupied Hexapylum.[2] The opponent leaders then retreated into Achradina, but this quarter also was speedily taken, when all the magistrates were slain; the slaves and prisoners were set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicydes were again invested with the supreme military power.

The Romans now move from Leontium, and pitch their camp at the temple of Jupiter Olympius, a mile

[1] "Jam unis foribus Hexapyli apertis, cœpti erant recipi quum prætores intervenerunt."—Liv. 24, 32. It seems therefore that new prætors (στρατηγοὶ) had been appointed by the party favourable to the Romans.

[2] "Nec minore intus vi quàm foris portæ effringebantur; effractisque omnibus tutò in Hexapylo agmen receptum est." Hence it is evident that Hexapylum was a fortress of considerable dimensions, as appears probable also from the description by Diodorus (16, 20) of the entrance of Dion into Syracuse in B. C. 356. See above, p. 393.

and a half from the city; and Hippocrates and Epicydes having refused all terms, Syracuse is invested by sea towards the lower Achradina, and by land near the Hexapylum. Marcellus commanded in the former direction; in the latter, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who with the infantry invested the city on the northern side, beginning from the Scythian portico, where the city walls stood on the margin of the sea, and where he prepared materials for scaling the walls, to the eastward of Hexapylum.[1]

Marcellus attacked Achradina with sixty quinqueremes full of archers and slingers, for the purpose of driving the enemy from the ramparts adjacent to the sea,[2] while his own men endeavoured to occupy them

[1] Ἄππιος . . . . τῇ μὲν πεζῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τὴν Σκυθικὴν στοὰν προσαγορευομένην, καθ' ἣν ἐπ' αὐτῆς κεῖται τῆς κρηπῖδος τὸ τεῖχος παρὰ θάλασσαν, περιστοιχίσαντες, ἑτοιμασάμενοί τε γέῤῥα καὶ βέλη καὶ τἆλλα, &c. . . . Πλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἄππιος, ἔχων γέῤῥα καὶ κλίμακας, ἐνεχείρει προσφέρειν ταῦτα τῷ συνάπτοντι τείχει τοῖς Ἑξαπύλοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν. (Polyb. 8, 5.) It has been proposed to substitute Τυχικὴν or Συκικὴν for Σκυθικὴν in this passage. As to the first of these words, it is true that Tycha was the part of Syracuse into which Hexapylum opened; for Livy, (24, 21,) following Polybius, in describing the entrance into Syracuse of Theodotus and Sosis, after the death of Hieronymus, says, "Hexapyla Theodotus et Sosis post solis occasum jam obscurâ luce invecti, quum cruentam regiam vestem atque insigne capitis ostentarent, travecti per Tycham simul ad libertatem simul ad arma vocantes in Achradinam convenire jubent." But no part of Tycha was adjacent to the sea: nor could the word have been Συκικὴν, 'the portico of Syce,' since we know, from the narrative of Thucydides, that Syce was on the southern, not the northern, side of the table-land of Syracuse. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems evident that there was a stoa called the Scythian on the shore of port Trogilus, where alone, on *this* side of Syracuse, the walls touched the sea.

[2] "Inde terrâ marique simul cœptæ obpugnari Syracusæ; terrâ ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradinâ, cujus murus fluctu adluitur."—Liv. 24, 33.

by means of sambucæ,[1] attached to the prows of his ships. As such an operation could only be effected where the wall of Achradina stood on the margin of the sea, the attempt must have been made between Cape St. Lucia and the entrance of *Lacceius;* for this harbour was not yet in possession of the Romans, and in every other part of the maritime outline of Achradina the walls stood upon the summit of cliffs more or less elevated, and not admitting of such an attack as that of Marcellus. But Archimedes, the friend and relative of Hieron,[2] who had been for many years employed by him in fortifying Syracuse, and in furnishing its walls with engines of every description, and whose fertile genius now superintended the defence of the city against an enemy then little skilled in poliorcetics, found no difficulty in crushing the sambuca by means of weights discharged from long levers, while, by the same instruments furnished with grapples (*σιδηραῖ χεῖρες*), he had the power of lifting a

[1] The sambuca was so called from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name, the body of which was represented by two quinqueremes joined laterally, and moved by the external oars: the board and strings of the musical instrument were represented by a long ladder, four feet wide, terminating above in a platform capable of containing four men: the other end of the ladder turned on hinges or pivots fixed on the prows of the united vessels, so that by means of cordage on board, it might be raised to any angle; and both ladder and platform being well covered, the men upon the latter might, when the ships were stationed at the foot of the enemy's walls, be in an instant placed ready for action on the summit of the ramparts. Polybius (8, 5) has very clearly described the sambuca. Livy (24, 34) remarks only that the double quinqueremes bore towers and instruments for shaking the walls: "turres contabulatas machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant."

[2] *Ἀρχιμήδης Ἱέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενὴς ὢν καὶ φίλος.* — Plutarch. Marcel. 14.

quinquereme by the head, and then dropping it so as to cause it to sink by the stern. Other machines of the catapeltic kind threw stones and masses of lead against the more distant vessels of the enemy; while, on their nearer approach, an infinity of missiles was discharged from the loop-holed walls.

Appius was not more successful in his simultaneous attack on the opposite side of Achradina,[1] between Hexapylum and the Scythian portico, which stood on the shore of the Trogilian port; for here the walls were equally well supplied with catapultæ and balistæ, with instruments for throwing and letting fall weights, and with grapples capable of seizing an armed man and raising him in the air.[2] The result was, that the

[1] *Ὡς οὖν προσέβαλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διχόθεν, ἔκπληξις ἦν τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ σιγὴ διὰ δέος.*—Plutarch. Marcell. 15.

[2] As Polybius, who was born about the time of the siege of Syracuse, and who describes its defence by Archimedes, makes no mention of the mirrors with which, in later ages, Archimedes was reported to have destroyed the Roman ships, we may safely infer that no such contrivance was employed by him, though there is good reason for believing that a burning mirror was among the productions of his unrivalled genius. On comparing the words of Anthemius, a celebrated engineer of the sixth century, in his work *περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων* (Dupuy, Acad. des Inscr. tome xlii. p. 392) with those of Tzetzes, the *political* versifier of the twelfth, who appears to have followed Anthemius without thoroughly understanding him, (Chil. 2, 35,) we may infer that the mirror of Archimedes was a hexagon composed of six smaller moveable hexagons surrounding a seventh. Buffon constructed a set of mirrors, with which he set fire to tarred wood at a distance of 200 feet (Hist. Nat. Sup. i. p. 401, 4°. Paris, 1774); but as the effect of such an operation cannot be instantaneous, it seems obvious that there would be little chance of success against an enemy who has any power of moving his ships. The earliest reports of the employment of mirrors by Archimedes are of the second century, or between three and four hundred years after the siege. At that time it was mentioned as a fact by Lucian (in Hippia, 2),

Roman commanders resolved to convert the siege into a blockade, maintaining two camps, one to the south at the Olympieium, the other on the northern side.

Marcellus, leaving Appius before Syracuse with two-thirds of the Roman forces, captured Helorus, Herbessus, and Megara,—all which had yielded to the Carthaginians. Epicydes defended Syracuse, while Hippocrates, aided by a large force of infantry, horse, and elephants, brought by Himilco from Carthage, took the field against the Romans. Marcellus, returning from Acragas, which he had failed in preventing the Carthaginians from occupying, fell in with a large force of the enemy employed in intrenching themselves at Acrillæ. He felt unequal to attack their superior numbers, but cut off some of the Sicilian allies, and

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by Galen (de Temper. i. p. 80, ed. Basil.), and by Dion Cassius (ap. Zonar. 14, 3). To these names we cannot add that of Diodorus, who would have greater weight than any of them, both as an earlier writer and as a Sicilian; for though Tzetzes cites Diodorus on the subject of the siege, it is in reference to the death of Archimedes, not to his mirrors. Gibbon has examined this question with his usual judgment and sagacity. "A tradition has prevailed," he remarks, "that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning-glasses of Archimedes; and it is asserted that a similar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic vessels in the harbour of Constantinople, and to protect his benefactor Anastasius against the bold enterprise of Vitalian (A. D. 514). A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of a hexagonal mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun, and a consuming flame was darted to the distance perhaps of 200 feet. The truth of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the silence of the most authentic historians: in the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus and all the contemporaries of the sixth century."—Gibbon, iv. p. 89, 4to ed.

forced the cavalry to retire with Hippocrates to Acræ. Marcellus then returned to Syracuse, and Himilco encamped on the Anapus, eight miles from the city. Fifty-five Carthaginian ships, under Bomilcar, arrived in the great harbour of Syracuse, and thirty Roman quinqueremes at Panormus, where they disembarked the first legion of Rome. Himilco endeavoured to intercept these troops on their way to Syracuse; but the Romans, instead of taking the direct road thither, crossed to the southern coast, which they followed, accompanied by the fleet, and were met at Pachynum by Appius Claudius with a part of his land forces.

The Romans had now a superior fleet, and positions for their army which the Carthaginians thought impregnable, and which caused them to quit Syracuse, and endeavour to gain over other cities of Sicily to their party. Bomilcar, with the fleet, returned to Africa. Himilco took Morgantia, and placing Hippocrates in charge of it, wintered at Acragas. The people of Enna, preparing to revolt from the Romans, were massacred by Pinarius. Marcellus established magazines at Leontium; and Appius Claudius, previously to his departure for Rome, placed T. Quinctius Crispinus in command of the fleet and of the camp at the Olympieium. Marcellus established magazines at Leontium, and, towards the winter, fortified a camp for himself at Leon.[1]

Nothing occurred in Sicily during the following year worthy of being recorded in history. Spain, Greece, and Italy were the scenes of action between Rome and

[1] "Ipse hibernacula quinque millia passuum Hexapylo (Leonta vocant locum) communiit ædificavitque."—Liv. 24, 39. But, according to Thucydides, Leon was less than eight stades from Euryalus: the five miles of Livy, therefore, ought perhaps to be five stades.

Carthage; and it was not until the spring of the year B. C. 212 that Marcellus resolved upon active measures for the reduction of Syracuse,—when all the skill of Archimedes, unsupported by discipline, soon proved unequal to Roman valour and enterprise.

A negotiation had been opened between Marcellus and Epicydes for the redemption of Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, who, in proceeding from Syracuse on a mission to Philip V., king of Macedonia, had been taken by one of the Roman ships. The port of the Trogilii, where stood a tower named Galeagra,[1] was fixed upon for the place of conference. One of the Romans, who accompanied the persons charged with the negotiation on the part of Marcellus, employed himself in calculating the height of this tower, and found that the battlements could be reached by two ordinary scaling-ladders joined in the usual manner.[2] This observation was reported to Marcellus, who,

[1] "Ad portum Trogiliorum propter turrim quam vocant Galeagram." —Liv. 25, 23.

[2] Ἐξηριθμήσατο τοὺς δόμους· ἦν γὰρ (ὁ πύργος) ἐκ συννόμων λίθων ᾠκοδομημένος, ὥστε καὶ λίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον εἶναι τὴν ἀπό γῆς τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀπόστασιν.—Polyb. 8. Fragm. ap. Suid. in συννόμων. Vide Schweigh. v. p. 32. "Unus ex Romanis, ex propinquo murum contemplatus, numerando lapides, æstimandoque ipse secum, quid in fronte paterent singuli, altitudinem muri, quantum maxime conjectura poterat, permensus humilioremque aliquanto pristinâ opinione suâ et ceterorum omnium ratus esse et vel mediocribus scalis superabilem, ad Marcellum rem defert." — Liv. 25, 23. This is an example of the manner in which the historian, compiling in his closet, often deviates from the precision of the soldier and politician. The δόμοι, or courses, as generally in Greek masonry after the time of Alexander, were of equal height. The Roman, therefore, had only to measure or compute the lower course, and to count the number of courses.

having soon afterwards learnt that the Syracusans were engaged in celebrating the feast of Diana, which lasted three days, and that Epicydes had made a distribution of wine to the people,—the more liberally, as other provisions were scarce,—resolved to attempt an escalade in the night,[1] at an hour when the greater part of the guards of the ramparts would probably be drinking or sleeping within the towers.[2] One thousand

[1] Μαθὼν δὲ (ὁ Μάρκος) ἐξ αὐτομόλου, διασαφήσαντος, ὅτι ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν (οἱ Συρακούσιοι) πάνδημον καὶ τοῖς μὲν σιτίοις λιτοῖς χρῶνται διὰ τὴν σπάνιν, τῷ δὲ οἴνῳ δαψιλεῖ, προσανανεωσάμενος τὴν τοῦ τείχους ταπεινότητα, ἐπεβάλετο καταπειράζειν τῆς ἐλπίδος.—Polyb. 8, Frag. ap. Heron. et Suid. Schweigh. v. p. 33.

[2] Ταχὺ δὲ καὶ κλιμάκων δύο συντεθεισῶν, ἐγένοντο κύριοι τοῦ πύργου. Εἰς γὰρ τοὺς πύργους ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὴν θυσίαν, οἱ μὲν ἀκμὴν ἔπινον, οἱ δ' ἐκοιμῶντο πάλαι μεθυσκόμενοι. Διὸ καὶ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείναντες.—Polyb. 8, Frag. ap. Heron. Schweigh. v. p. 34. "Jam mille armatorum ceperant partem . . . . . quum cæteræ admotæ pluribusque scalis in murum evadebant, signo ab Hexapylo dato, quo per ingentem solitudinem erat perventum, quia magna pars in turribus epulati aut sopiti vino erant aut semigraves potabant; paucos tamen obpressos in cubilibus interfecerunt. Prope Hexapylum est portula magna vi refringi cœpta: et e muro ex composito tubâ datum signum erat."—Liv. 25, 24. It seems evident that Livy had not thoroughly understood Polybius, and his meaning, therefore, is obscure, no fragment of Polybius remaining to assist us in this part of his narrative. But, considering the ordinary construction of Hellenic walls, which consisted of towers (πύργοι) separated by curtains (μεσοπύργια), along the summit of which was a covering of battlements (ἐπάλξεις), and a continued passage along the ramparts through the upper stories of the towers,—considering also the incidental notice of Hexapylum in history on other occasions, there can be little doubt that the 'portula' mentioned by Livy led from the rampart into Hexapylum. From the 'τοὺς πύργους' of Polybius (*v. sup.*) we may infer that there was one tower at least between Galeagra and Hexapylum. At the same time, these two fortresses were evidently at no great distance asunder; which perfectly agrees with the supposed situation of Hexapylum at the point where the coast road from Megara entered the Syracusan enclosure.

Romans scaled the wall, and followed the ramparts to Hexapylum, surprising the enemy, and slaying some of them on their couches. Arrived at Hexapylum, the Romans gave a signal to their friends at Galeagra, who now applied numerous ladders to the walls; and a small gate, which led through Hexapylum to the ramparts beyond it, having been broken down, a trumpet was sounded, and the assault was no longer conducted in silence. The victorious Romans, having passed through Hexapylum, continued to follow the ramparts to Epipolæ, the enemy retreating, and many of them precipitating themselves from the walls. At day-break Hexapylum was broken open, and Marcellus entered the upper city with all his forces.[1]

Epicydes, hearing of the alarm which filled the city, marched out of Nasus; but when he found Epipolæ occupied by the enemy, retired, after the discharge of a few missiles, into Achradina, fearful of some treachery which might cause the gates of Achradina and Nasus to be closed against him. Marcellus attempted to negotiate for the surrender of the city, but without success; the ramparts of Achradina being in the hands of deserters from the Syracusan party which had sided with the Romans, and who could not expect pardon. He turned therefore towards Euryalus, a post important

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[1] The following is the narrative of Plutarch, in which he seems principally to have followed Polybius. *Πύργον τινὰ κατεσκέψατο, φυλαττόμενον μὲν οὐκ ἀμελῶς, ἄνδρας δὲ δυνάμενον δέξασθαι κρύφα, τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβατοῦ παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντος. Ὡς οὖν τό τε ὕψος ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις προσιέναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πύργον εἰκάσθη καλῶς καὶ κλίμακες παρεσκευάσθησαν, ἑορτῇ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἄγοντας καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ὡρμημένους καὶ παιδίαν, παραφυλάξας, ἔλαθεν οὐ μόνον τὸν πύργον κατασχὼν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος παρεμπλήσας ὅπλων πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ Ἑξάπυλα διακόψας.*—Plutarch. Marcel. 18.

to the security of his rear. Here the commander Philodemus, an Argive, attempted to gain time, in expectation of the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco; but, despairing at length of succour, he delivered up Euryalus to the Romans, on the condition of retiring into the part of the city occupied by Epicydes. In the mean time Marcellus had encamped between Neapolis and Tycha, both which places submitted to be plundered, on condition of being saved from slaughter and fire.

During these tumults, Bomilcar, taking advantage of the confusion in the city, when it happened also that a tempestuous night prevented the Roman ships from blockading the harbour,[1] sailed out with thirty-five ships, leaving fifty-five at Syracuse, and speedily returned from Carthage with 100 ships; a large portion of the treasures of Hieron having, it was supposed, been expended by Epicydes on this occasion. Marcellus, secured by Euryalus in his rear, now hoped to reduce those enclosed in Achradina by famine, and established three camps for this purpose. The arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco, however, placed him in some peril. An attack was made by Hippocrates upon the old camp at the Olympieium under Crispinus, while Epicydes sallied upon the stations of Marcellus; and the Punic fleet, approaching the shore at the head of the great harbour, intercepted the communication between Marcellus and Crispinus. But these measures were unsuccessful; and the Romans derived from them the confidence of being able to preserve their positions.

[1] "Aversis omnibus ad tumultum ex parte captæ urbis, Bomilcar, noctem eam nactus, qua propter vim tempestatis stare ad anchoram in salo Romana classis non posset," &c.—Liv. 25, 25.

The autumn had now arrived, and the wonted unhealthiness of the situation was felt, particularly in the two adverse camps to the southward of the city. But the Carthaginians suffered more than the Romans, who had the means, when the pestilence increased, of withdrawing within the walls of that portion of Syracuse which was in their possession; though this was not done before they had suffered considerable loss. Of the Carthaginians, almost all perished, including Hippocrates and Himilco. The Siculi who had been encamped with them had retired, as soon as the pestilence declared itself, into two fortresses; one of which was three, the other fifteen, miles distant from Syracuse. Here they collected supplies and reinforcements from their several cities, while Bomilcar proceeded to Carthage, and speedily returned from thence with 130 ships and 700 transports. Leaving the latter at Heracleia, he advanced with the ships of war to Pachynum. There the north-westerly wind, which had brought him from Carthage, having been adverse to his further progress towards Syracuse, he was joined by Epicydes, who, with a salutary distrust of his allies, feared that the adverse wind might furnish Bomilcar with a motive or plea for returning to Africa: leaving Achradina, therefore, to the care of the mercenaries, Epicydes proceeded to Pachynum by sea, where he found the Punic fleet on the southern side of the cape. Marcellus, on his part, was not less apprehensive of being shut up in a hostile city by this new Punic armament, aided by the Siculi, who were collecting in great numbers. He resolved therefore to prevent, if possible, the Punic ships from entering the bay of Syracuse; and, although inferior in force, sailed for this purpose to Pachynum. The two fleets remained on the opposite sides of the

promontory, until an east wind, which had been blowing violently for some days, subsided. Bomilcar then stood out to sea, as if for the purpose of doubling the cape; but suddenly, when the Roman ships were bearing down upon him, sent orders to the transports at Heracleia to return to Africa, and shaped his own course for Tarentum: and Epicydes, seeing Syracuse thus abandoned, instead of returning thither, proceeded to Agrigentum. On hearing of these desertions, the Siculi, with the concurrence of the besieged Syracusans, proposed to Marcellus that Syracuse should be surrendered to the Romans, together with every other place which had been in subjection to Hieron,[1] and that the Siculi should remain in the enjoyment of their laws and liberties. In a Syracusan assembly, the Siculi engaged to insist upon the same conditions of personal safety for those who were besieged by the Romans as for themselves. This caused a revolution, which was fatal to the three officers left in command by Epicydes. New chiefs were appointed, and an embassy was about to be sent to Marcellus, who was ready to ratify the terms proposed by the Siculi, when a fresh insurrection of the mercenaries and deserters prevented the termination of the treaty. They put to death the newly appointed magistrates, and appointed six in their place,—three to command in Achradina, and three in Nasus. The mercenaries, however, soon discovered that their case was not the same as that of the deserters, and that Marcellus had no intention of treating them severely. It happened also that one of the officers of the mercenaries intrusted with the

[1] "Quæ ubique regum fuissent, Romanorum essent."—Liv. 25, 28.

custody of Achradina was a Spaniard, named Mericus, and that Marcellus had some Spanish auxiliaries among his forces. By means of one of these, who accompanied the deputies of Marcellus into Achradina, Mericus was gained over to the Roman cause; and, having contrived to nominate his brother as one of the Syracusan deputies to Marcellus, entered into an agreement to give up one of the gates of the city to the Romans. Under a pretence of greater security, Mericus caused a partition to be made of the custody of the walls among the six commanders, obtained for himself the portion of Nasus between the fountain Arethusa and the entrance of the great harbour, and communicated the fact to Marcellus. A party of Romans embarked in a ship of burden, which was towed by the barge of a quadrireme to the western side of Nasus, was landed near the gate of Arethusa,[1] and was placed in possession of that gate by Mericus. This was effected in the fourth watch: at day-light, Marcellus, with the main body of his forces, attacked the walls of Achradina, when a great part of the garrison of Nasus proceeding to its defence, a body of Romans, reserved for the purpose, was sent by sea to Nasus, landed near the fountain, and having entered the gate already in possession of the Romans, without difficulty became masters of Nasus. Nearly at the same time, a part of Achradina was also taken,[2] and Mericus with his portion of the garrison joined the Romans, when

[1] "Itaque Marcellus nocte navem onerariam cum armatis remulco quadriremis trahi ad Achradinam jussit, exponique milites regione portæ quæ propè fontem Arethusam est."—Liv. 25, 30. Achradinam seems to be an error for Nasum.

[2] Perhaps the lower Achradina, which lay between Nasus and the fortress of Achradina.

Marcellus sounded a cessation of the attack, and left free egress to the enemy from Achradina, — being principally anxious that the remainder of the royal treasure in Nasus should not be plundered before the quæstor could arrive there. But this treasure was much smaller than had been expected; a large portion of it having, as we have seen, been sent to Carthage, where the effects which it produced were such as usually result from a subsidized alliance.

When these matters had been attended to, and guards placed to protect the houses of the Syracusans who had been of the Roman party, the rest of the city was given up to plunder. In the confusion, Archimedes was slain by an ignorant soldier, greatly to the regret of Marcellus.

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Among the extant monuments of Syracusan opulence and refinement, none are more deserving of notice than the coins. The great number and variety of them are very significant indications of that wealth which afforded the Romans almost as much plunder at Syracuse as at Carthage itself;[1] while they furnish splendid proofs of that perfection in the elegant arts, in which scarcely any Greek city but Athens could enter into competition with Syracuse. The imperfect remarks upon them which follow I have reserved for this part of my 'Notes on Syracuse,' because no explanation of the coins of a Greek state can be well founded but in a review of its history; and those of

[1] Liv. 25, 31. Plutarch. Marcell. 19.

Syracuse are the more interesting, as there is no Greek state, except Athens, of which so much of the history is known as Syracuse. Some of its coins obtained celebrity among the ancients.[1] The Damaretia,(i) the Pentecontalitra,(ii) and the Philistidia,(iii) were not less renowned than the golden Philippeia of Macedonia,(iv) or the Berenicia of Egypt;(v) and Syracusan coins in general are valuable not only as exquisite specimens of Greek art, but as contributing to the history of art by the means which we possess of approximating to a correct knowledge of the time when many of them were struck.

Of these the *Δαμαρέτιον* or *Δημαρέτειον* is at once among the most ancient, and that of which the date is the most correctly known, these pieces having been coined by Gelon, who died in 478 B. C., from the proceeds of 100 talents of gold presented to his wife Damareta by the Carthaginians, on the occasion of the peace which they concluded with Gelon after his victory at Himera in 480 B. C.[2] In exact

[1] Diodor. 11, 26; 16, 8. Sch. Pindar. Ol. 2, v. 1. 29. Eustath. in Homer. Odys. H. 63. J. Poll. Onomast. 4, 173; 9, 81, *seq.* Hesych. in *Δαμαρέτιον, Φιλιστίδιον.*

(i) Mus. Hunter. tab. 52, x.—(ii) Ibid. ix.—(iii) Mionnet, Planches, LXVIII. 8. — (iv) Duane's Kings of Macedonia, pl. 2.—(v) Mionnet, Sup. IX. pl. III. 4.

These Roman numbers refer also to plates of the coins stamped on paper in rilievo, by the process of G. Barclay, 22, Gerard Street, Soho, of whom they may be purchased.

[2] *παραγενομένων γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πρεσβέων καὶ μετὰ δακρύων δεομένων ἀνθρωπίνως αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι, συνεχώρησε τὴν εἰρήνην. ἐπράξατο δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον γεγενημένας δαπάνας ἀργυρίου δισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ δύο ναοὺς προσέταξαν οἰκοδομῆσαι καθ' οὓς ἔδει τὰς συνθήκας ἀνατεθῆναι· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς σωτηρίας παραδόξως τετευχότες, ταῦτά τε δώσειν προσεδέξαντο καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμαρέτῃ προσωμολόγησαν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα συνήργησε πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ*

conformity with this date of the coin, we find that the letters of the word ϹΥΡΑΚΟϹΙΟΝ inscribed upon it are similar in form to those of the ϹΥΡΑΚΟϹΙΟΙ upon the brazen helmet in the British Museum, which was dedicated to Jupiter of Olympia, after the victory gained by Hieron, the successor of Gelon, over the Tyrrhenians at Cumæ, in the year 474 B. C. And hence we may infer that some didrachma and tetradrachma of Syracuse, on which the Κ is expressed by Ϙ and the sigma by ϟ, are of an earlier date.[vi] It has been supposed by some numismatic writers, and by none more decidedly than the greatest of them, Eckhel, that the Damaretia were coins of gold, because the present made to Damareta is described as a crown of

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*στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσοῦ, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτιον· τοῦτο δ' εἶχεν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα· ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ Πεντηκοντάλιτρον.*—Diodor. 11, 26. The 2000 talents of silver paid to Gelon for the expenses of the war were equal to about 140,000 pounds of silver, or about half a million of our present currency. The old Sicilian talent of gold, according to Aristotle, as cited by Julius Pollux (9, 87), weighed six Attic drachmæ. But this could not have been the talent intended by Diodorus, as the present made to Damareta would have been worth no more than one Attic talent of silver, and capable of producing no more than 600 pentecontalitra. Nothing, however, is more uncertain than the weight or value of the talent of gold in different times and places. "There can be no question," says Boeckh, in his Public Œconomy of Athens, i. p. 210, "that as much gold as was equal to the value of a silver talent, was often called a talent of gold; as also that a quantity of gold weighing 6000 drachmæ was known by the same name." If we suppose the Sicilian talent of gold of the time of Gelon to have weighed 24 Attic drachmæ (*v. sup.* note 2, p. 282), and the proportional value of gold and silver to have been as 13 to 1 (Herodot. 3, 95), the present to Damareta was capable of producing 3120 pentecontalitra.

(vi) Mus. Hunter. tab. 53, XII.

gold; but the word στεφανόω, employed by Diodorus, was often used to signify a present of money or bullion, without any reference to a crown; and in this particular case the circumstances alone leave little doubt that the gift to Damareta was of unwrought gold. And this gold was coined, not into money of gold, but into its equivalent of silver, as manifestly follows from the words of Diodorus, from whom we learn that the Damaretia were also called Pentecontalitra, as weighing fifty litræ, and that they contained ten Attic drachmæ, which is exactly the weight of all the extant silver coins commonly called Syracusan medallions, — both the archaic decadrachma, or Damaretia, and those better known, which are of later date. Diodorus could not have intended to describe a coin of gold weighing 10 Attic drachmæ, as it would, according to the value of gold compared with silver about that time,[1] have been equivalent to 130 drachmæ or 650 litræ. The largest gold coin of Syracuse known weighs no more than 8 litræ.[vii] Indeed, it would be almost absurd to suppose that, at a time when Syracuse was far from wealthy, such a wise prince as Gelon should have struck a money so little suited to commerce and public convenience as a gold piece weighing 10 drachmæ, or 675 grains troy; which would have been heavier than any gold coin, ancient or modern.[2] But, in fact, the Syracusans, in the time of Gelon, had not yet begun to coin in gold, nor had any of the

[1] Herodot. 3, 95. Letronne, 'Eval. des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines,' pp. 64, 106. Paris, 1817.

(vii) Mus. Hunter. p. 288, tab. 52, iv.

[2] The gold coins of Arsinoe and of Ptolemy V. weigh 429 grains; the five-pound piece of England, 647 grains.

Greeks, except perhaps those of some of the maritime cities of Asia, as Cyzicus, Phocæa, and Miletus, who had probably derived the art as well as the material from the Lydians.[1] Of the smaller silver coins of the Syracusans, the litra is the most common;[(viii)] its weight is one-fifth of the Attic drachma, and it bears, therefore, to the Attic obolus the proportion of 6 to 5. It was the unit of the Syracusan series in silver, and its multiples were numerous. There are extant pieces of $1\frac{1}{4}$ litra, of $2\frac{1}{2}$, of 3, of 4, of 5, of 8, of 10, of 12, of 16, of 20, and of 50 litræ.[2] As a pentalitron was equal to an Attic drachma, a decalitron to a didrachmon, and a piece of 20 litræ to a tetradrachmon, there is reason to believe that the monetary scale of Syracuse was made to accord throughout with the Athenian; and this is strongly confirmed by the existence of a piece of $2\frac{1}{2}$ litræ, equal to an Attic hemidrachmon, and of another of $1\frac{1}{4}$, equal to the fourth of an Attic drachma, which is impressed with the figure of an owl,[(ix)] the usual symbol of the Athenian Minerva. It is more than probable that this agreement of the two scales was derived from Corinth, that it existed prior to the Corinthian colonization of Syracuse, and that, from an earlier time, the litra was the unit of the silver money of Corinth, while the drachma or obolus was the unit of the Athenian. That the litra was of Corinthian origin seems evident from the Corinthian didrachmon having been described as the stater of ten litræ (*δεκάλιτρος στατήρ*).[3] The Syracusan decalitra and the Corinthian

[1] Herodot. 1, 93.

[(viii)] Mus. Hunter. tab. 54, III.

[2] Mus. Hunter. p. 288, *seq.*

[(ix)] Castelli (Torremuzza) Sicil. Num. Vet. Pl. LXXVIII. 15.

[3] J. Poll. 4, 175; 9, 81.

staters were not only identical in weight, but many of the Syracusan bore the same types as those of Corinth, both on the obverse and reverse.[x, xi] It would seem that each of these three greatest of commercial cities continued to adapt the weight of its silver money to the general convenience and common circulation of them all; and hence perhaps it happens that while the Corinthian stater is the commonest of all silver coins, the didrachmon of Athens and the decalitron of Syracuse are rare; and that, on the other hand, there are no extant tetradrachma of Corinth, while those of Athens and Syracuse are very abundant.

It has often been doubted whether such fine works as some of the Syracusan coins could have been employed as money, and especially those of the largest size; but the exact equality of weight in pieces of the same denomination, and the agreement of them all with the general monetary scale of Syracuse, leave no reasonable doubt on this question. That such beautiful coins should frequently have been hoarded is natural; and hence the considerable number of them still extant in good preservation. The Damaretia, indeed, are extremely rare, which is not surprising when we consider their great antiquity, and the circumstance of their having been the produce of a single limited issue; but of the later pentecontalitra, commonly called Syracusan medallions, there are still extant a considerable number. I know of not less than fifteen or twenty, all designed by the same artist, Evænetus (ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ),[xii] and known either by the traces, more or less apparent, of his name on the lower

(x, xi) Taylor Combe, Num. Mus. Brit. p. 78, No. 24, p. 136, Corinth. No. 2, *seq.*

(xii) Torremuzza, auct. I. tab. VII. 1.

edge of the coin, or by an exact similarity of design to those so distinguishable. The chariots and the Victory on the pentecontalitra, tetradrachma, and some of the smaller coins, seem to indicate that it was customary at Syracuse to issue the newly coined money on the occasion of games celebrated in honour of the deities whose heads form the obverses of the coins. Sometimes Victory crowns the horses, but more frequently the charioteer. That armour formed a part of the prize on these occasions is evident from the representation of it on the exergue of the pentecontalitra, generally with the word ΑΘΛΑ attached to it.[xiii] Perhaps the newly struck coins were among the rewards of the successful charioteer. On a piece of 20 litræ, the Victory bears in her hand a tablet inscribed ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ (*i. e. Εὐαινέτου ἔργον*), showing the die to have been the work of the same Evænetus who made the medallions. On the obverse of the same coin his name is again indicated by the letters ΕΥΑΙ on one of the dolphins, surrounding a female head, which was intended probably for Arethusa, as a band on the forehead is adorned with a border of waves, above which may be discerned a minute dolphin.[xiv] It is not impossible that the tablet on the reverse of this coin may be intended to represent a purse containing some of the new coins.

So refined was the taste of the Syracusans as to their money, that we find the artist's name on a piece so small as a pentalitron or drachma, and one which had no reference to games, but was impressed with a representation in honour of Leucaspis,[xv] a fabled com-

(xiii) Torremuzza, tab. LXXII. 1.

(xiv) In the British Museum. Vide Mus. Hunter. tab. 53. III.

(xv) Mus. Hunter. tab. 53, XXI.

panion of Hercules, and one of the heroes worshipped at Syracuse. Examples of this coin are extant, designed by Eumenus,[1] whose name frequently occurs on Syracusan silver. The only artist besides Evænetus whose name is seen on the pentecontalitra is Cimon (ΚΙΜΩΝ).[(xvi)] His style is more florid than that of Evænetus, and he seems, therefore, to have been of later date, although both probably wrought under Dionysius I. Gold coins of Syracuse are extant both by Evænetus and by Cimon.[2]

The age of Evænetus is shown to have been after the year 403 B. C., by the occurrence on all his coins of Ω in the word ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. But he lived not long after that time, as we find ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ for ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ on his tetradrachmon above mentioned, which custom appears to have been obsolete when Philip II. of Macedonia began to strike his famous gold coins, about 357 B. C., for on these the name is constantly ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ is the legend on the coins of Mausolus, who began to reign in 377 B. C.; but ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΥ occurs in some Carian inscriptions of his reign, dating from 367 to 355 B. C.[3] In so literary a city as Syracuse, we can hardly imagine that the employment of ΟΥ and the long vowels became customary later than at Athens. Eumenus appears to have lived about the same time as Evænetus, as we find his name written both ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ and ΕΥΜΗΝΟΥ;[4] and on a coin of Leucaspis, in my possession, the name of the people is *Συρακοσί*ΟΝ, not ΩΝ. On this

[1] Mus. Hunter. tab. 53, xx.

[(xvi)] Torremuzza, tab. LXXII. 1.

[2] In the National Collection at Paris.

[3] Boeckh, C. Inscript. Gr. No. 2691.

[4] This name is not to be confounded with ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ, the etymon of which is *μένος*, ardor animi: that of Eumenus is *μὴν*, Lunus, mensis.

piece ΕΥ occurs on both sides, standing undoubtedly for ΕΥΜΗΝΟΥ, as this word occurs on other coins of Leucaspis at full length, and the style of them all is the same.[1] In a pentecontalitron, by Cimon, his name is placed on one of the dolphins which surround the head of Proserpine.[(xvi)] On a tetradrachmon, by the same engraver, ΚΙΜΩΝ may be discerned on a fillet amidst the hair of a front face of Arethusa, above which is ΑΡΕΘΟΣΑ.[(xvii)] Cimon is the only Syracusan artist whose name occurs in the nominative: ἐποίει is to be understood. On another tetradrachmon we find ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΑ on the helmet of a front-faced Pallas,[(xviii)] and the same name on another tetradrachmon upon the lower part of a bag or band which supports the hair at the back of the head of Proserpine.[(xix)] The name of the artist is engraved, in both instances, in letters so minute that they are scarcely visible without the aid of a lens. Eumenus was seldom so modest; his name occurs in much larger characters on a tetradrachmon inscribed on a fillet in the hair of a profile of Proserpine:[2] on another tetradrachmon the name occupies the whole exergue, and is found at full length on both sides of the coin.[3] Examples occur of a coin executed by two different artists: the obverse of a tetradrachmon was made by Eucleidas, (his name being in very small characters on a tablet,) and the reverse by Eumenus.[4] Of another

[1] Mus. Hunter. tab. 53, xx. Torremuzza, tab. LXXVIII. 11, 12.

(xvii) Mionnet, Planches, LXVII. 4. (xviii) In the British Museum. V. Torremuzza, tab. LXXIV. 8; but the artist's name is not seen.

(xix) In my own collection and in the British Museum. See Hunter. tab. 53, IV.; but where also no artist's name is apparent. On these coins by Eucleidas the legend is ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ. As in the ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ of some of the coins of Agathocles, νοῦμμος or στατὴρ is to be understood.

[2] Torremuzza, tab. LXXII. 7. [3] Ibid. 6.

[4] Mus. Hunt. tab. 52, XVII.

tetradrachmon the obverse was by ΕΥΜ(ΗΝΟΣ); the reverse, or at least its exergue, which is a beautiful representation of Scylla catching a fish, by ΕΥΘ(ΥΜΟΣ?)[xx] It was a natural consequence of this custom of occasionally employing a different artist for either side of a coin, that when the same artist executed both sides, he should sometimes place his name on both sides. Instances have already been mentioned in the cases of Evænetus and Eumenus. ΠΑΡΜΕ(ΝΩΝ or ΝΙΣΚΟΣ) was also an engraver of monetary dies, as appears from extant coins.[1] That all these are names of artists, and not of magistrates, as some persons are disposed to believe, can scarcely be doubted on taking a general view of the coins of Syracuse. In many of the democracies of Greece it was undoubtedly permitted or required that certain magistrates should inscribe their names on the money of the state; and of this custom Athens furnishes a remarkable instance: but there was a much larger number of republics in which it was not practised, and was probably contrary to law; and of these, Syracuse was manifestly one. Whenever the legend on its money related to any thing but the name of the people, it was connected with the local religion: this rule was transgressed only by the dynasts; and here the exception proves the rule, as it was by means of their illegal despotic power that they assumed the privilege; nor was it exercised until the time of Agathocles, after and during whose reign single letters, or two letters together, begin to appear on the coins of Syracuse, which may possibly be intended to designate the names of magistrates. But in the earlier Syracusan

(xx) Mus. Hunter. tab. 53, v. [1] Mus. Hunter. tab. 52, xvi.

coins, easily distinguishable by their superior style of art, the names seem always to have been those of artists; and we find accordingly that they are generally engraved and placed upon the coins in small letters, and in situations the least obtrusive, in the manner of monetary engravers of modern times.

The litra of silver represented a pound, or 12 ounces (*οὐγκίαι*) of copper. The hemilitron was equal to six ounces, the trixas to three ounces, and the dixas to two.[1] The *πεντόγκιον*, or silver piece of the value of 5 ounces, was a common fee of the Syracusan fortune-tellers.[2] The litra, which bears generally on the obverse a female head, and on the reverse a sepia, is much more often found than its subdivisions. In the Hunter Collection there is a hemilitron marked with six dots, to signify ounces,[3] and in Torremuzza there is a Syracusan silver coin with four dots:[4] whence it appears that

[1] *Καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἀκραγαντίνων πολιτείᾳ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ζημιοῦσθαί τινα τριάκοντα λίτρας· δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν λίτραν ὀβολὸν Αἰγιναῖον· ἀλλὰ μέντοι παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἱμεραίων πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄλλα εὕροι Σικελικῶν νομισμάτων ὀνόματα, οἷον οὐγκίαν, ὅπερ δύναται χαλκοῦν ἕνα· καὶ διξάντα ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύο χαλκοῖ· καὶ τριξάντα ὅπερ τρεῖς· καὶ ἡμίλιτρον ὅπερ ἕξ· καὶ λίτραν ἣν εἶναι ὀβολόν· τὸ μέντοι δεκάλιτρον δύνασθαι μὲν δέκα ὀβολούς, εἶναι δὲ στατῆρα Κορίνθιον.*—J. Poll. 9, 80. Cf. Hesych. in *διξός*.

The extant monuments demonstrate that Aristotle was not quite correct as to the weight of the litra; it was indeed heavier than the Athenian obolus, but it was lighter than the Æginæan: the full weight of the Æginæan obolus was 16 grains, of the Syracusan litra, 13·5, and of the Athenian obolus, 11·25.

[2] *Ὥσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες, αἵδ' ὑπονέμονται*
*Γυναῖκας μωράς· αἱ μὲν ἂμ πεντόγκιον ἀργύρου,*
*Ἄλλαι δὲ λίτραν· αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμίλιτρον δεχόμενοι,*
*Πάντα γιγνώσκοντι τότε λόγῳ.*
Epicharmus *ἐν Ἀρπαγαῖς*, ap. J. Poll. 9, 81.

[3] Mus. Hunter. 54, v.

[4] Torremuzza, LXXIX. 29.

there were pieces of 4, as well as of 2, of 3, of 5, and of 6 ounces. The pentoncium,[1] the trixas,[2] and the dixas, of Syracuse, distinguished by the number of dots on them, are, I believe, still unpublished.[3]

Syracusan *οὐγκίαι* are not uncommon; they bear a great resemblance, by their form and thickness, to some of the early copper money of Italy: they are impressed on one side with the head of Minerva, similar to that on the coins of Corinth; and on the other, with two dolphins, between which is a star. Their average weight, when new, appears to have been about 500 grains; it bore therefore to the Roman ounce, which was the twelfth part of the *as* or libra, the proportion of 25 to 21.[4] By the style of the figures impressed upon them, and the form of the letters, they do not appear to be more ancient than Dionysius I.

Although in copper we cannot expect to find so much accuracy of weight as generally prevails in the silver coinage of the Greeks, it is still remarkable in the copper money of Syracuse, even in the subdivisions of the ounce. In particular, the *ἡμιόγκια*, or half-ounces, impressed with the head of Jupiter Eleutherius, are generally found to weigh very nearly 250 grains. The worship of Jupiter Eleutherius was established at the time of the restored democracy,

[1] I possess a pentoncium of Acragas. *Obv.* Eagle on a column ΑΚΡΑ. *Rev.* 5 dots in quincunx; weight 5 grains.

[2] The trixas is the teruncius of the Roman scale of Varro, de Ling. Latin. 4.

[3] The *διξὰς* ought to weigh 2·2 grains. Coins of Taras and Egesta, marked with two dots, are extant of this weight, or less. The smallest Athenian coin extant is the *τεταρτήμοριον* or *ταρτημόριον*, or quarter-obolus, equivalent to two chalci; its weight is $2\frac{3}{4}$ grains.

[4] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. vol. v. p. 6. Letronne, Eval. des Monnaies, p. 7.

after the exile of Thrasybulus in 466 B. C., when the Syracusans erected a colossal statue of Jupiter Eleutherius, and instituted sacrifices and games in his honour.[1] But none of these coins have the appearance of being older than Dionysius I. Two hundred years later, the ounce and half-ounce still preserved their weight; and they were even heavier than those of the earlier time. The ounce of Hieron II., which is impressed on the obverse with a diademated beardless head, and on the other side with a biga, and the legend ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ,[(xxix)] is rare; but there is no coin in the Syracusan series more common than the half-ounce, which has the same obverse and the same legend, but with a horseman in place of the biga.

At Rome and in other cities, both of Italy and Sicily, the original weight of the copper money was gradually reduced, until the coins became no more than tokens, the current value of which was marked by *dots*, expressing the number of ounces. But I have never seen any of these dots on Syracusan coins of copper, even those of so late a time as Hieron II.; and if they ever occur, the coins will probably be found to belong to a later period.

From a comparison of the coins of Syracuse in silver and in copper, it appears that the value of the two metals was in the ratio of 1 to 445,—a proportion which seems enormous compared with that of modern times, or of the Byzantine empire. But at Rome, in the time of Hieron II., it was as great, if not greater.[2]

[1] Diodor. 11, 72.

(xxix) Torremuzza, tab. XCIX. 1.

[2] Much greater, if the denarius of silver, first coined in the year B. C. 269, or a few years after the accession of Hieron II. to power, and which was made equivalent to ten pounds of copper (dena æris),

The constitution of Syracuse was always democratic, although, for the two first centuries, the executive was in the hands of a landed aristocracy, and was often, in subsequent ages, for many consecutive years under the sway of military commanders, during whose usurped power many of the republican laws and institutions must have been suspended or perverted. But democratic customs were constantly revived on the cessation of the tyrannies, and republican forms were never obsolete. In a constitutional jealousy of public men, the Syracusans seem, in one respect, to have exceeded the Athenians,—their coins, as already hinted, being free from official names, and in this respect affording an agreeable contrast to the coins of Athens. If some initial letters, chiefly on the coins of Hieron II. and Hieronymus, have reference to magistrates, they prove the restricted nature of the privilege; for the letters never exceed two, and are more commonly single letters. Even Agathocles, who, in imitation of the successors of Alexander, assumed the regal title in the year 307 B. C., never placed his portrait on the coins of his reign, although we have his coins in gold[xxi] and copper,[xxii] inscribed **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ**. The tetradrachma of silver, having a head of Proserpine (**ΚΟΡΑΣ**) on one side, and Victory

was not heavier than the Attic drachma. But although it became as light, and even lighter than the Attic drachma, namely 60 grains, there is sufficient evidence that a much heavier denarius was long in use at Rome. (Varro, *ubi sup.*) It seems, indeed, not very likely that there should have been any great difference in the comparative value of silver and copper between Rome and Syracuse in the reign of Hieron II. It would have been nearly equal in the two places, supposing the weight of the denarius to have been about 112 grains.

(xxi) Torremuzza, tab. CI. 1, 2.

(xxii) Ibid. 15.

erecting a trophy on the other, with the legend ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ or ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ,[xxiii] were coined probably in the interval of ten years between his accession and his assumption of the regal title. Icetas, the successor of Agathocles, though he never styled himself king, transgressed the democratic customs of Syracuse so far as to place his name at full length, preceded by ΕΠΙ, upon the gold money which he issued.[xxiv] Pyrrhus was the next of the dynasts of Syracuse who coined money in the city with his name upon it. There are coins of Pyrrhus in gold, silver, and copper, which, though inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (and not ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ in the Syracusan dialect) ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, were certainly struck at Syracuse. On comparing the obverses of the coins of Agathocles and Icetas representing the head of Cora, with those of Pyrrhus having a similar obverse,[xxv, xxvi] the identity of style is very striking. A similar comparison will leave little doubt that a celebrated tetradrachmon of Pyrrhus which bears the oak-crowned head of the Dodonæan Jupiter on the obverse, and on the reverse Juno seated on a throne,[xxvii] was issued from the Syracusan mint. The difference between this coin and one of those just referred to, is, that on the latter we find the venerated goddesses of Syracuse, Cora and Ceres; on the other, the Epirote deities, Zeus and Dione.[1] The close resemblance of the enthroned goddesses, on the two

(xxiii) Torremuzza, tab. CI. 6, 9.

(xxiv) Torremuzza, tab. CII. 1, 2, 3.

(xxv, xxvi) In my own collection. See D'Orville, Sicula, tab. XVI. XVII.

(xxvii) See the title-page of Taylor Combe's 'Nummi in Museo Britannico.'

[1] The Epirote name of Juno. Strabo, p. 329.

reverses, is remarkable. It is equally evident that some others of the coins of Pyrrhus were struck at Syracuse: for instance, a small gold coin, with his name on the reverse, the obverse being a head of Diana, which, with its symbols, is closely imitated from the obverse of a gold coin of Syracuse.[1] This fine piece —the largest of the Syracusan series in gold—has on the other side a head of Apollo.[2] Hieron II., though he assumed the titles of *Ἡγεμὼν* and *Βασιλεὺς*,[3] and was styled Rex Hiero by the Romans, and though two of the females of his family, Nereis and Philistis, were entitled *Βασίλισσαι*,[4] appears never to have employed any but the ordinary sacred or republican types on his coinage in silver,—with one exception, of which not more than two or three specimens are extant. This silver coin is equal in diameter to the pentecontalitron, but weighs not more than about 33 litræ, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ Attic drachmæ.[(xxviii)] It bears a close resemblance to the ounce and the half-ounce of Hieron II., particularly the former,[(xxix)] the difference being that on the reverse of the silver coin, Victory drives a car of four horses instead of two, and that above the car are a star and **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ**. With this exception, all the coins of Hieron II. bearing his name, both in gold and copper, have the legend **ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ** only. As the title of *Βασιλεὺς*, therefore, never occurs on the coins of Hieron, except in the extremely rare silver pieces just

[1] Neuman's Num. Pop. et Reg. part I. tab. 6, fig. 3.

[2] Mus. Hunter. tab. 52, IV. *Vide* VII.

[3] Βασιλέος Ἀγε(ομένου) Ἱέρωνος Ἱεροκλέος, Συρακόσιοι Θεοῖς πᾶσι. On a marble in the Museum of Syracuse.

[4] Inscriptions on the Theatre of Syracuse. See p. 275.

(xxviii) From Lord Northwick's collection. Torremuzza, XCVIII. 8, 9.

(xxix) Torremuzza, tab. XCIX. 1.

mentioned, it would seem that these are the produce of a very limited coinage,—that the title was never again employed on the money of Hieron,—that the silver coinage of his long reign bore the republican types alone; his coinage tending to confirm that character of moderation and respect for the people, apparent if not real, for which history gives him credit.

As to the diademated beardless head which forms the obverse of the ounce and half-ounce, inscribed **ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**, as well as of the silver coin inscribed **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**, there can scarcely be a doubt that it is the traditional portrait of Gelon, the ancestor of Hieron, whose heroic worship, indicated by the diadem, was continued to the latest period of autonomous Syracuse. When Timoleon restored the democracy, in the year 343 B. C., the statues of all the tyrants were displaced or sold, except those of Gelon, who continued to receive heroic honours from the Syracusans for his victory at Himera, and for the respect which he had shown for the rights of the people.[1] A statue of Gelon remained to a late time in the temple of Juno, which represented him as clothed in an ungirded shirt (ἐν ἀζώστῳ χιτῶνι), in memory of his having presented himself in this guise in the midst of an armed assembly, to whom he accounted for his administration as στρατηγὸς in the Carthaginian war.[2] The diademated beardless head cannot be a portrait of Hieron II. himself, who, as we have seen, was little disposed to obtrude even his kingly title upon the

[1] Plutarch. Timoleon, 23. Diodor. 11, 38. Polyæn. 1, 27. Ælian. V. H. 6, 11. Dion Chrys. Corinth. p. 240.

[2] Ælian. V. H. 13, 37.

Syracusans, and who never wore the diadem, as manifestly appears from the offence given by Hieronymus when, with a degree of pride and ostentation which formed the strongest contrast to the discretion and simplicity of his grandfather, he drove out, attended by armed satellites, in a chariot drawn by white horses, in the manner of Dionysius I.; assuming at the same time the purple and the diadem,[1] which latter had not been worn even by Agathocles, when, in imitation of Lysimachus and Cassander, he took the title of *Βασιλεύς*.[2]

Nor ought we to omit the consideration, that it was not yet the practice, even among Asiatic princes,—with the exception of the Seleucidæ, with whom the custom commenced with their founder Seleucus Nicator, and of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who imitated their Oriental pride,—to place the portrait of the reigning prince upon the national currency. Thus the diademated beardless head upon the coins of the Bithynian kings is a traditional heroic portrait of Nicomedes I., the founder of the dynasty. On the coins of the Pergamenian kings a similar head represents Philetærus; and even Ptolemy Philadelphus, at least during a great part of his reign, placed on his coins the portrait of his father, as the heroic founder of his kingdom. During the forty-four years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, no portrait of that king occurs on the Macedonian coins; although his father Demetrius Poliorcetes had assumed that honour: nor was it until the reign of Philip V., who boasted a descent from Achilles and the Heracleidæ, that we find a portrait of the reigning monarch in the Macedonian series.

[1] Liv. 24, 5.

[2] *διάδημα μὲν οὐκ ἔκρινεν ἔχειν.*—Diodor. 22, 54.

It is scarcely necessary to combat the opinion that some of the coins inscribed ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ are coeval with Hieron I.; or that the diademated head may be his portrait. It is sufficient to compare any of these coins with the Damaretia which were struck just before the reign of Hieron I., to show that there must have been a long interval between the latter and those inscribed ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ, the style of which is precisely that of the time of Hieron II.: unquestionably, therefore, they were all produced in the long reign of that king.[1]

We must admit that the diademated beardless head on the coins of Hieronymus[(xxx)] differs in some degree from that on the coins of Hieron II.: the face is generally more round and full, and the chin not so pointed; but there is, nevertheless, a general resemblance. It is not impossible that on the coins both of Hieron and Hieronymus, the artists, in representing the traditional head of Gelon, their common ancestor, may have infused into the features some likeness of the reigning prince. The obverses of the coins of Hieronymus cannot have been exact portraits of that king, because they represent a person of middle age; whereas Hieronymus was not more than fifteen years old when he began his reign of fifteen months. There can be little doubt, therefore, that these heads, as well as those on the coins of Hieron II., were intended for Gelon.

After these observations, it is almost unnecessary for me to add, that I can neither agree with Visconti, who, in his 'Iconographie Grecque,' has given a por-

[1] *ἔτη ν' καὶ τέτταρα βασιλεύσας.*—Polyb. 7, 8. He had been *στρατηγὸς* five years before he became *βασιλεύς*. Lucian. Macrob. 10. Liv. 24, 4.

(xxx) Taylor Combe, Num. in Mus. Brit. tab. IV. fig. 12.

trait of Hieron I., taken from the coins of Hieron II.; nor with Eckhel, who distinguishes the coins of Hieron I. from those of Hieron II.; and still less with Mionnet, who has attributed coins severally to Hieron I., to Dionysius II., and to Hieron II. To none of these, I believe, can any coins be specifically ascribed by means of their types or legends, with the sole exception of those of Hieron II., in gold, silver, and copper, which have been mentioned; and which, after all, form but a small portion of the money issued at Syracuse during his reign.

The coins of Philistis may appear perhaps exceptional to these conclusions, inasmuch as they seem to present a portrait of one of the reigning family; but as we know nothing either of the person or of the circumstances under which the coins were struck, they need hardly be taken into consideration. The most probable conjecture is, that Philistis was a deceased wife of Hieron II., whose memory he thus honoured. The veil seems to mark her position *in inferis*.

There remain two silver coins of Syracuse, difficult of explanation, namely, those inscribed **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**,[xxxi] and those which bear on the obverse the Roman figures **XIII**. Of the former there are extant pieces of 8 litræ and of 4 litræ. On the obverse is the head of Gelon, sufficiently resembling those on the coins of Hieron II. and Hieronymus to leave no question that they were intended for the same person. The pointed chin, which, in many of the coins of Hieron, is rather exaggerated, is still distinguishable. There were three periods in Syracusan history in

(xxxi) Torremuzza, tab. XCVII.

which we may imagine such coins to have been struck. The first was in the years 463 and 462 B. C., when, soon after the expulsion of Thrasybulus, 7000 of those aliens who had been made Syracusan citizens by Gelon, having been deprived of their rights by the other citizens, seized Achradina and Nasus, and held those posts for nearly two years.[1] They may well have described themselves as "Syracusans of Gelon." But the coins in question are certainly not of that early date.

The next historical period in which these pieces may have been struck is about 340 B. C., when Timoleon had restored the republic, and when the statues of all the antecedent tyrants had been subverted, except those of Gelon, whose ancient heroic honours were confirmed and perpetuated. But even on this occasion it is not very likely that the heroic head of Gelon should have been for the first time admitted on Syracusan money, which had never hitherto borne any obverse less venerable than a head of one of the great protecting deities.

The coins in question, therefore, belong more probably to the time when Hieronymus was expelled and fled to Leontium, and when the party who had opposed him may have been so much the more anxious to show their respect for the memory of Gelon, as they were in the act of destroying all the family of Hieron II. So strong is the resemblance in the heads which form the obverses of the coins of Hieronymus to those on the coins inscribed **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**, that one might almost suspect the dies prepared for the former to have been employed for the latter by the party who succeeded to power when Hieronymus was expelled.

[1] Diodor. 11, 72; 76.

That all these coins are nearly of the same time is rendered highly probable by the style common to them all, and because, like the generality of the later silver coins of Syracuse, they bear upon the field or exergue one or two letters, as **Κ, ΚΙ, ΒΑ, ΞΑ, ΜΙ, ΑΙ, ΤΙ, Α, ΑΠ, ΑΦ, ΣΩ**, and others.

A resemblance of style, indicating an approximation in time, is observable also on the coins which weigh between 13 and 14 grains, when perfect, and which bear upon the obverse the head of Pallas, sometimes with the legend **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, and on the reverse **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ**, three dots in a triangle, and the figures **XIII**.(xxxii) These figures mean, perhaps, that the piece was worth 13 ounces. The litra, we know, was equivalent to 12 ounces, and, according to the monetary scale of the Syracusans, ought to weigh $13\frac{1}{2}$ grains; but I have never met with litræ, even the best preserved, some of which are very ancient, that weigh more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains; nor are there any in the Hunter Collection heavier than $12\frac{3}{4}$,[1] which is the more remarkable, as all the multiples of the litra are generally correct (allowing for some wear), at the rate of $13\frac{1}{2}$ to the litra. Possibly, therefore, the deficiency of the old litra was acknowledged when these new pieces were struck; and that, instead of depreciating the old litræ, it was preferred to make the new litra equivalent to 13 ounces. The chief singularity in these small pieces consists in the use of the Roman numerals **XIII**; whence it would seem that the numerical notation of Italy, according to which the numbers 5 and 10 were expressed by **V** and **X**, was employed

(xxxii) In my own collection and in the British Museum. Torremuzza, XCVII. 12.

[1] Mus. Hunter. p. 295.

at Syracuse, and perhaps in other parts of Sicily; and not the Γ and Δ or the Ε and Ι, by which the Greeks expressed the same two numbers. The three dots arranged in a triangle may perhaps have the same meaning as the triquetra, or three legs, so common on Sicilian money.

These latter remarks, I must admit, are little better than conjectures, which I should have omitted, if they had not appeared to offer some aid to further inquiry. Archæology is most effectually promoted by an enlarged knowledge of the ancient monuments, and by diffusing the means of comparing them with one another: an object which derives important aid from the inventions of photography and electrotype, and the means afforded by these new arts of multiplying correct copies or delineations of ancient monuments of every kind with a facility and perfection unattainable in former times. The great number of Greek states which had a separate coinage, the immense variety of types and legends displayed in the money of both Greeks and Romans, render their numismatics one of the most instructive and interesting chapters in the history of ancient civilization. Great progress has undoubtedly been made in this science during the last and present century; but much may still be done by the publication of inedited coins, by the republication of those of which there exist only unfaithful representations, and by a record of weights such as those annexed to the catalogues of Mionnet and the two Combes. For the promotion of these objects the British Museum now possesses efficacious means in its extensive collections, and in its power of corresponding with other similar establishments in foreign countries.

## VIII.—ON THE FRAGMENTS OF AN ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES RESPECTING THE MONEY OF HARPALUS.[1]

BY CHURCHILL BABINGTON, M.A.,
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(Read Nov. 8, 1849.)

In the summer of the present year, my friend Mr. Colquhoun, a member of the Royal Society of Literature, showed me a fac-simile of the fragments above mentioned. Respecting the MS. itself, I would only add to the remarks already made upon it by Mr. Harris, that the similarity of its characters to those of the Alexandrian MS. of the Old and New Testaments seems to suggest that the ages of both MSS. may not be very far removed from each other.[2]

[1] A fac-simile of these fragments, made by Mr. Harris, of Alexandria, in 1848, was noticed in the second part of this volume. (See pp. 178–182.)

[2] Upon further consideration I am inclined to think that the MS. of Hyperides is much the older of the two, and that it may perhaps be anterior to the Christian era: it seems, however, scarcely possible to come to any satisfactory conclusion respecting even the approximate dates of the very early class of Greek MSS. A papyrus containing a fragment of Homer, which is engraved in the second volume of Silvestre and Champollion's *Paléographie Universelle*, and which is referred to the third century before the Christian era, resembles our MS. in many important particulars. The Codex Bankesianus of Homer also bears much similarity to our MS. It is suspected that this Codex may be as old as the third century after Christ.

It was not, I believe, known to what author the fragments belonged. Mr. Harris says, indeed, that they *seem* to form part of the accusation against Demosthenes, composed by Hyperides; and he observes, that so early as the second century, Julius Pollux quotes the oration ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλου, 'for Harpalus,' which is ascribed to Hyperides, respecting the genuineness of which, however, he expresses doubt. The passage in Pollux occurs in lib. x. c. 159, (ed. Bekk.) εἰ δὲ μὴ ψευδὴς ὁ Ὑπερίδου λόγος ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλου, ἐν αὐτῷ γέγραπται, "ἐκπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῶν περδικοτροφείων." This is the only place in which the oration is quoted by name in the 'Onomasticon' of Pollux, and I have not observed that any other author has cited an oration of Hyperides bearing that title. How this title can be applicable to the oration whose relics are before us, it is not easy to perceive, seeing that it is occupied in the accusation of Demosthenes, at a time when Harpalus, who was reported to have corrupted him by bribes, had fled from Athens. Maetzner, in the notes to his recent edition of Dinarchus, supposes that the oration ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλου was not the same as that which Hyperides made in accusation of Demosthenes.

"Neque tamen contenderim Hyperidem ipsum prorsus alienum fuisse à largitionis suspicione: nam et antea idem orator partem argenti à rege Persarum per Ephialtem oratoribus divisi accepisse creditus est (Vitt. x. Orat. p. 848. E.): atque ferebatur olim oratio ejus ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλου in concione habita (Pollux, x. 159, εἰ μὴ ψευδής): ut ad eam possis duci opinionem, Hyperidem *ad depellendam à se corruptelæ suspicionem accusatoris partes suscepisse.*" (Dinarch. p. 86, ed. Maetzner. Berolini, 1842.) Fabricius, likewise, in his 'Biblio-

theca Græca,' supposes the oration of Hyperides ὑπὲρ Ἁρπάλου to be different from the oration κατὰ Δημοσθένους. It is to the latter speech of Hyperides, namely, to his accusation of Demosthenes, that our fragments, whether genuine or spurious, unquestionably belong.

Harpocration, who probably lived in the fourth century of our era, if not earlier, quotes in his Lexicon, under the word κατατομὴ, the following clause from Ὑπερίδης κατὰ Δημοσθένους: "Καὶ καθήμενος κάτω ὑπὸ τῇ κατατομῇ." This passage occurs, word for word, in our 16th fragment. The same clause is quoted by Photius and Suidas, in their Lexicons, (v. κατατομὴ,) as belonging to the same oration: Phavorinus, in his Lexicon, (v. κατατομὴ,) also quotes it, but does not say in what author it occurs.

Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas inform us, that Nicanor the Stagirite is mentioned by Hyperides in his oration against Demosthenes. His name does occur in one of our fragments. (Fragm. 5.)

Further, Harpocration remarks that the word ἐπιστάτης is used in the same oration for one who is ἐφεστηκὼς πράγματι ὁτῳοῦν. In one of our fragments Hyperides calls Demosthenes τὸν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτην. (Fragm. 4.)

Amongst other words which Harpocration cites from the same oration, but which do not occur in our fragments, is Ἀριστίων, a proper name. Now, an anonymous lexicographer, edited in Bekker's 'Anecdota Græca,' (vol. i. p. 444,) and also Phavorinus, who copy their account from Harpocration, tell us that the same proper name is found in the oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes; so that their oration is the same as that from which Harpocration

quotes; to which, as has been shown, our fragments certainly belong. Again, Harpocration (v. διάθεσις) informs us that the word διαθέσθαι is used for συνθέσθαι in the oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes. It is perhaps worth while to remark, that Ulpian, in his commentary on the second Olynthian oration of Demosthenes, and Zonaras (v. διαθέσθαι), observe that Hyperides uses the word διαθέσθαι for συνθέσθαι, though without specifying the oration.

Thus (to say nothing respecting the testimonies of Ulpian and Zonaras) we have no fewer than four authorities, viz. Harpocration, Photius, Suidas, and Phavorinus, quoting a clause which occurs in our fragments; and we have an anonymous lexicographer who cannot but be admitted to refer to the same oration which we possess.

Not one of these writers expresses any doubt as to its genuineness. It may be contended with plausibility (perhaps with truth) that these authorities are reduced to one only, viz. to Harpocration, and that the others have copied from him. Admitting this to be the case, we shall at least have the testimony of one ancient and cautious writer in favour of the genuineness of the work. And besides, it may certainly be urged that the evidence of Photius is valuable, even if he copied from Harpocration; for if he had had any strong suspicion that the oration was spurious, he would probably have said so, as he has done in other cases. Now, it appears from his 'Bibliotheca' that he had read divers orations of Hyperides; and in the course of his article on that orator, he mentions at large that he accused Demosthenes. (Cod. 266, p. 495, ed. Bekk.) It is not at all improbable, therefore, to say the least, that the

learned Patriarch of Constantinople was acquainted with our oration, and believed it to be genuine.[3]

Further, it is nearly certain that the same oration as that to which our *disjecta membra* belong is cited by Priscian, Julius Pollux, and Athenæus.

The first of these writers (lib. XVIII. c. 25, vol. ii. p. 219, ed. Krehl.) quotes a short passage from the oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes. This short passage explains perfectly the drift of a portion of our fragments, which would not have been otherwise very comprehensible: *Ὑπερίδης κατὰ Δημοσθένους· Ἀλλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐπὶ βοήθειαν καλεῖς, οὓς ὕβριζες καὶ ἐλοιδόρου ἀκρατοκώθωνας* (*i. e.* swig-pots) *ἀποκαλῶν.*— Priscian, *ut supra.* Compare with this the following sentences of our fragments: . . . . . *νυνὶ τηλικούτων ὑπὸ μειρακίων, κρινόμενος περὶ δωροδοκίας· καίτοι ἔδει τοὐναντίον ὑφ' ὑμῶν παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ (εἴ τι προπετέστερον ἔπραττον) ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι καὶ κολάζεσθαι· νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον οἱ νέοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη σωφρονίζουσι.* (Fragments 15 and 3.) Corydon (in Athenæus) sneers at Demosthenes on the same ground, and uses the same word: '*He that used to call other folks swig-pots, has now swigged off the great pot himself;*' *i. e.* the golden goblet of Harpalus, which formed part of the bribe by which Demosthenes was reported to be corrupted. (See Plut. Vit. Demosth.)

It is scarcely, I think, doubtful that Priscian's citation occurred in the same speech (not to say, in the same sentence of it,) as that whose relics we possess. Supposing this to be so, Julius Pollux and Athenæus will likewise have quoted the same oration.

[3] It seems probable that he had seen the third column of our sixteenth fragment, from certain remarks which he makes in his 'Bibliotheca.'

In Priscian's quotation occurs the word *ἀκρατοκώθωνας*: Athenæus also mentions that *ἀκρατοκώθωνας* is used by Hyperides in his oration against Demosthenes; and likewise cites from the same oration a clause in which the word *ἀκρατέστερον* is found. (Athenæus, lib. x. p. 424, and lib. xi. p. 483.) Again, Julius Pollux (vi. 24 and 25) says that Hyperides used the forms *ἀκρατέστερος* and *ἀκρατοκώθωνας*, but that he himself does not approve of the latter (*ἀκρατοκώθωνας Ὑπερίδης ἔφη· οὐ μὴν ἐπαινῶ τοὔνομα*). Pollux here expresses no doubt of the genuineness of the passage in which it occurs, and that, too, when a disapprobation of the word itself is recorded, *in spite of its being used by Hyperides.*

That the oration of Hyperides which Pollux and Athenæus cite is the same as that which is quoted by Priscian, will probably be admitted; and it seems scarcely doubtful that Priscian's oration is the same as our own.

Again, Alexander Numenius, who lived in the time of Adrian or the Antonines, quotes a fragment of a few lines in length from *Ὑπερίδης ἐπὶ Δημοσθένους*. The argument greatly resembles that which is employed in one of our fragments. (Rhetores Græci, vol. viii. pp. 457, 458, ed. Walz, compared with Fragment 1, col. 1.) Another Greek rhetorician, Apsines, in the third century, makes an allusion to the accusation of Demosthenes by Hyperides, which is by no means inconsistent with our fragments. (Id. vol. ix. p. 535, coll. Fragm. 21.) So also does Plutarch. (Vit. Demosth. coll. Fragm. 14.)

So far, then, as ancient testimony is concerned, it is decidedly in favour of the genuineness of our oration. Harpocration, Photius, Suidas, and Phavorinus

directly quote from our fragments. An anonymous lexicographer will hardly be denied to refer to the same oration; and it does not appear in any great degree doubtful that other parts of the same work, which do not occur in our fragments, are cited by Alexander, Pollux, Athenæus, and Priscian. It is highly probable that Ulpian and Zonaras also quote it; nor is there the smallest reason to suppose that the speech of Hyperides to which Plutarch and Apsines refer was any other than our own. The contrary supposition, indeed, is more probable.

Nor does internal evidence appear to be wanting that the oration belongs to Hyperides. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his *Δείναρχος*, and Photius, in his 'Bibliotheca,' both mention that Hyperides was one of those orators whom Dinarchus imitated. This at least may be affirmed, that a great portion of our fragments would scarcely be intelligible, but for the parallel passages of Dinarchus's oration against Demosthenes.

Again, Libanius and Photius mention that the oration ascribed to Demosthenes, entitled *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν*, resembles the style of Hyperides: the style of our fragments is sufficiently similar. Most of the historical allusions, too, and those not always very prominent ones, are confirmed by other authorities: one or two allusions I am unable to illustrate, not having elsewhere discovered who the persons mentioned are. All this seems to fall in much better with the hypothesis that the oration is genuine, than with the contrary supposition. The style and diction, too, appear conformable to the age of Demosthenes and Hyperides. Nor should it be forgotten that certain uncouth compounds and singular forms,

for the use of which Hyperides is blamed by Phrynichus and other grammarians, occur in the *λόγος κατὰ Δημοσθένους*.

Two of the fragments seem to form no part of the accusation of Hyperides, and perhaps belong to Demosthenes's defence of himself, which may have been written on the same roll of papyrus, (Fragments 9 and 13,) although it is to be suspected that they rather appertain to a private oration, as does, to all appearance, Fragment 17, which relates to Euphemus. Whether Hyperides is the author of the oration or orations to which these three fragments belong, I am unable to say.

With regard to the interpretation of the fragments, and the conjectural restorations of the lacunæ, I shall now say nothing, being engaged in preparing an edition of them, which will make its appearance, I hope, before the close of the year[4]; in the preliminary dissertation to which, the above remarks, among others, will be included in a somewhat more extended form.

C. B.

St. John's College, Cambridge,
October 27, 1849.

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[4] The edition has now been published in 4to. The columns or pages are printed line for line and letter for letter as they stand in the MS. in antique types, the mutilated letters being expressed by a smaller type, and the missing letters, which are supplied from conjecture, being printed in red. Below the columns the Greek text is printed in ordinary characters with accents and breathings; and below the text are the notes and illustrations.—Feb. 15, 1850.

## IX.—ON THE LOST BOOK OF CHÆREMON ON HIEROGLYPHICS.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read March 28, 1850.)

I HAVE the honour to draw the attention of the Society to a fragment of the lost book of Chæremon on the Hieroglyphics,—a work which appears to have enjoyed some reputation at the time of the Roman empire. This author, who was a sacred scribe in the first half of the first century of our era, was keeper of the library of Alexandria, in Egypt, or, at all events, of that portion of it which was attached to the temple of Serapis, and the predecessor and instructor of Dionysius of Alexandria, who flourished from the reign of Nero to that of Trajan. From times of antiquity his writings have excited much controversy.[1] His History of Egypt, which touched on matters both sacred and profane, was charged with wilful falsehood by Josephus,[2]—perhaps no great disparagement to its truth. Strabo[3] accuses him of vanity, presumption, and ignorance, on account of his astronomical views; and Voss thinks him a charlatan, because it is stated in one of the Chiliads of Tzetzes, that he made the Phœnix cycle one of 7006 years.[4] Considering that

[1] Voss. De Hist. Græc. p. 209, 10, ed. West. Lips. 1838. Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr. and Myth. vol. i. p. 678.

[2] Porphyr. de Abst. c. IV. 6. Jerome, cont. Jov. II. 3.

[3] Lib. XVII. p. 806. [4] Voss. *loc. cit.* Cf. Chil. v. 6.

these condemnations were passed by persons profoundly ignorant of hieroglyphical literature, and of the monumental history of Egypt, and that Chæremon was not only the guardian of the books of the library, but also, being a sacred scribe, well versed in the knowledge of the sacred characters, they may be left aside as the hasty criticisms of ignorance, or the prejudiced attacks of those to whose systems and views the statements of Chæremon presented striking contradictions.

The existence of the *ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ* of Chæremon was not unknown to scholars, but their information was drawn from the two passages in the lexicographer Suidas,[1] and from Eusebius.[2] I have had the fortune not only to find the notice of his work, but also a short excerpt apparently from the work itself. In the present state of our knowledge of the hieroglyphics, such passages, indeed, are of literary rather than practical interest; but I put it to the most determined sceptic,—to those who scarcely believe out of the pale of Greek literature,—whether the fact of a lost and unknown fragment, explaining nineteen hieroglyphical signs in a manner almost coincident with the sense modern discovery has attached to them, is not an extraordinary corroboration? Many facts very strongly believed would be considered to be wonderfully strengthened by so unexpected a testimony. These fragments will therefore be one of the *loci classici* of the sacred character, to be recorded along with the extracts of Clemens, the translation of Hermapion, and the Books of Horapollo.[3] I have pleasure in

[1] Suidas voce *Χαιρήμων*, also in *Ἱερογλυφικά*.

[2] Præp. Evang. v. 10. The passage cited is a translation of part of the Ritual. Cf. III. 4, 13. Cf. also Tzetzes, Chil. v. 6.

[3] Horapoll. Hierogl. a Leemans, 8vo, Amst. 1835, præf. p. v.

producing this passage, because it has escaped the observation of past and recent writers on hieroglyphics, and is well worthy of being embodied in future notices.

In the *Εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα ἐξήγησις Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τοῦ Τζέτζου*[1] are found the extracts in question. This work, which is a prose disquisition upon Homer, written with a great deal of learning, and exhibiting considerable reading of works now lost, embraces several views on the poems of Homer peculiar to the author and to the Byzantine taste of the period. One of his notions, which appears to have been infused into him from a perusal of the works of Chæremon, was, that Homer was initiated into a knowledge of hieroglyphics, which he calls symbolical Æthiopian letters; for he states, in an early part of his thesis, *ναὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν συμβολικῶν γραμμάτων ἀμύητος γέγονε περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τόποις διδάξομεν, ὁποῖα εἰσί.*[2]

When he is subsequently advancing his physical notions of the meaning of *ἀργυρότοξος*, which he considers alludes to the whiteness of the sunlight, he infers that Homer derived his notion of silver being the same as the whiteness of the sunlight from the hieroglyphics: *ἃ μαθὼν Ὅμηρος ἐκ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν συμβολικῶν γραμμάτων οὕτω φησίν· ἔμπροσθεν ἐρῶ, ἔνθα μήτε ἀλληγορία πολλὴ, μήτε πύκνωσις σχολίων ἐστί· νῦν δὲ τὸ τούτων πλῆθος οὐκ ἐᾷ με καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων λαλεῖν.*[3] He here complains, indeed, of the pressure of other matter, which prevents his entering on the subject of the hieroglyphics; nor does he omit to allude to this fact when he again touches on the subject of the bow and shoulders of Apollo: *τόξα καὶ ὤμους ἐκ τῶν*

[1] First published by G. Hermann. 'Draconis Stratonicensis Liber de Metris Poeticis, Joannis Tzetzis Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem,' 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1812. [2] p. 17. [3] p. 94.

*συμβολικῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων φησίν· ἃ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς ἔφην, δηλώσομεν.*[1]

This explanation, indeed, he subsequently gives: *Ὅμηρος δὲ παιδευθεὶς ἀκριβῶς δὲ πᾶσαν μάθησιν ἐκ τῶν συμβολικῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων, ταῦτα φησίν· οἱ γὰρ Αἰθίοπες στοιχεῖα γραμμάτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ζῶα παντοῖα καὶ μέλη τούτων καὶ μοίρια· βουλόμενοι γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἱερογραμματέων τὸν περὶ θεῶν φυσικὸν λόγον κρύπτειν, δι' ἀλληγορικῶν καὶ συμβόλων τοιούτων καὶ γραμμάτων τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις αὐτὰ παρεδίδουν, ὡς ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ΧΑΙΡΗΜΩΝ φησὶ,* (1) *καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν χαρᾶς γυναῖκα τυμπανίζουσαν ἔγραφον·* (2) *ἀντὶ λύπης, ἄνθρωπον τῇ χειρὶ τὸ γένειον κρατοῦντα, καὶ πρὸς γῆν νεύοντα·* (3) *ἀντὶ δὲ συμφορᾶς, ὀφθαλμὸν δακρύοντα·* (4) *ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, δύο χεῖρας κενὰς ἐκτεταμένας·* (5) *ἀντὶ ἀνατολῆς, ὄφιν ἐξερχόμενον ἐκ τινὸς ὀπῆς,* (6) *ἀντὶ δύσεως, εἰσερχόμενον·* (7) *ἀντὶ ἀναβιώσεως, βάτραχον·* (8) *ἀντὶ ψυχῆς, ἱέρακα· ἔτι καὶ ἀντὶ ἡλίου καὶ θεοῦ·* (9) *ἀντὶ θηλυγόνου γυναικὸς καὶ μητρὸς, καὶ χρόνου, καὶ οὐρανοῦ, γῦπα·* (10) *ἀντὶ βασιλέως, μέλισσαν·* (11) *ἀντὶ γενέσεως καὶ αὐτοφύων καὶ ἀῤῥένων, κάνθαρον·* (12) *ἀντὶ γῆς, βοῦν·* (13) *λέοντος δὲ προτομὴ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ φυλακὴν δηλοῖ κατ' αὐτούς·* (14) *οὐρὰ λέοντος, ἀνάγκην·* (15) *ἔλαφος, ἐνιαυτόν·* (16) *ὁμοίως ὁ φοίνιξ·* (17) *ὁ παῖς δηλοῖ τὰ αὐξανόμενα·* (18) *ὁ γέρων, τὰ φθειρόμενα·* (19) *τὸ τόξον, τὴν ὀξεῖαν δύναμιν· καὶ ἕτερα μυρία· ἐξ ὧν Ὅμηρος ταῦτα φησίν· ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόπῳ, εἴπερ αἱρεῖσθε, ἰδὼν ἐκ τοῦ ΧΑΙΡΗΜΟΝΟΣ, καὶ τὰς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτῶν ἐκφωνήσεις Αἰθιοπικῶς, εἴπω.*

Before entering on the question of these hieroglyphics, it is as well to hear what the scholia of Tzetzes state on the first passage of these citations. This scholiast is, indeed, slightly mutilated, but the passages are easily restored, and I have enclosed them in brackets. *Περὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων Διό[δωρος]*

[1] p. 99.

*μὲν ἐπεμνήσθη καὶ μερικῶς εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἄλλου μαθὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενος· . . . . . καί τινα τούτων κατέλεξεν· ὥσπερ ἐν οἷς οἶδε παῤῥησιάζεται. Χαιρήμων δὲ ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ὅλην βίβλον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γραμμάτων συνέταξεν· ἅτινα ἐν τοῖς πρώ[τοις] τόποις τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπῶν ἀ[κρι]βέστερον καὶ πλατυτέρως ἐρῶ· [ἄ]καιρον γὰρ ἄλλως καὶ περιττὸν τῶν [ἀ]κροατῶν καταβαρύνειν τὰς [γραφὰς] ἐν ταῖς προοιμιώσεσι καὶ ὥσπερ [ἐ]ξαγωνίοις τῶν ὑποθέσεων· τοῖς καιρίοις γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν τα[ῦτα].*

It is evident, from these observations of Tzetzes, that the work of Chæremon was a dictionary more accurate in its nature than the subsequent Hieroglyphica of Horus Apollo; and that it was written by a person either himself practically acquainted with the subject, or else deriving his information from good sources.

In this respect it is strongly contrasted with the loose and hearsay statements of Diodorus,—for so the name in the scholia must be restored. Chæremon had indeed omitted to distinctly state that the hieroglyphics were divided into classes, one of which represented sounds, as Clemens[1] had done; but it is by no means clear, from the statement of Tzetzes, that he was not aware that they were pronounced in a particular manner; in fact, Tzetzes promises to give, on a future occasion, the pronunciation of the characters. To Tzetzes, whose mind was preoccupied with the physical explanation of Homer, the most objective part of the work of Chæremon was the employment of animal forms instead of the abstract alphabet, which he calls the *στοιχεῖα γραμμάτων*: but he is quite silent about

[1] See Letronne in Champollion, Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique, 8vo, Paris, 1828, p. 376, and foll. Lepsius, Lettre à M. Rosellini, 8vo, Rome, 1837, p. 17. Goulianof. Arch. Egypt. 8vo, 1839.

any *physical* interpretation afforded by Chæremon,—and it may be imagined how readily he would have strained at it, had the librarian of Alexandria filled his writings, as Horapollo did his, with popular physical notions.

The presumption must be that Chæremon did not; but the work was probably constructed with that disregard to method so common in antiquity. The most singular part is, that Tzetzes calls them "Æthiopian symbolical characters;" but it is evident that he means Egyptian, for the characters are the same, and the meaning identical with those found in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The expression, however, is not to be taken in its most literal sense; for it is clear that it may be applied paraphrastically to the hieroglyphics, —either that Æthiopia was supposed to be the old seat of the language, or that at the time of Tzetzes, owing to their use having become obsolete in Egypt, they were called *Αἰθιοπικὰ* from the supposed continued employment of them in Æthiopia. In a letter in the British Museum,[1] written by a lady to some person whose name is not mentioned in it, she calls them *Αἰγύπτια γράμματα*, for she says, *πυνθανομένη μανθάνειν σε Αἰγύπτια γράμματα, κ. τ. λ.*,—if indeed this phrase is not applied to the demotic.

M. Lepsius has, indeed, stated that the characters found in Æthiopia are apparently used in another sense. It is, however, probable that this title was founded on the notion of the Nigritic civilization of Egypt; for Democritus had written *περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*, as well as upon those of Babylon,[2] and

[1] Description of Greek Papyri in British Museum, part I. 1839, p. 48, No. XIX., by the Rev. J. Forshall.

[2] Diogen. Laert. IX. c. 7. Cf. Leemans, Horapollo, præf. p. vi.

Diodorus[1] expressly affirms *τοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων τύπους Αἰθιοπικοὺς ὑπάρχειν*: and although he always cites the inscriptions as "Ægyptian characters,"[2] he positively asserts their Æthiopian origin; and it is in this sense that we must receive their appellation from Chæremon. The passage in question contains nineteen hieroglyphics, and to these may be perhaps added one more,—that in the body of the work, which explains white and silver.

The whole value of the extract depends not so much on whether it was the work of Chæremon, but rather whether it is consonant to our *knowledge* of the hieroglyphics. To arrive at this, it is necessary to examine the symbols Chæremon mentions in detail. The first hieroglyphic mentioned is that of a female beating the tambourine, meaning, he says, 'joy.' At Philæ, in the legends of the goddess, Athor is represented[3] as a female playing on this instrument ; but there is often, in the inscriptions, a female standing and playing on the sistrum, preceded by the phonetic hieroglyphics , *ahi*, which are supposed to mean 'assistant priestess,' and have great similarity in sound to the word *ahai*, 'joy,' for which it may be found substituted in certain texts. The second hieroglyphic, which he describes as a man holding his beard, and looking to the earth, is probably that of[4] the man kneeling

[1] Lib. III. 3. [2] Lib. I. 16.

[3] Champollion, Mon. Eg. Texte, fo. Paris, 1844, p. 178, 179.

[4] Cf. the tablets, Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. Pl. 86, l. 7; 78, l. 10. The words *hakr—karh* express either 'the point of dawn,' or 'the extreme limit of the night.' This word *hakr* is followed by the anterior parts of two lions bearing the sun's disk, on tablet No. 573, B. M.

on the ground, beating his breast,—perhaps, in some instances, holding his beard, and raising one arm; which is preceded by the phonetic group, *han*, which apparently means the prayer or address, and also, possibly, the 'wail;' for on the sepulchral tablets of the twelfth and other dynasties mention is made that "the deceased may hear the wail at the gate of the cemetery (?) of Abydos, on the night, or at the midnight of the festival of the embalming," this embalming being probably that of Osiris. I take this hieroglyphic on account of the meaning (grief) which he attaches to it; but it is probable that he may mean the determinative,[1] the man placing his finger on his mouth being determinative of several mental emotions,—grief, among others. I am, however, by no means certain that Tzetzes may not have interchanged the meaning of this and the subsequent character (3), the weeping eye,[2] which he states meant 'calamity.' This is the well-known determinative ideograph, which always meant 'grief.'[3] (4) The two empty hands held out,[4] instead of the negative, are well known, having been determined long since by Champollion. (5) The serpent, which is the cerastes, coming out of a hole, , is the well-known equivalent of the phonetic group , *her*,—to come forth, proceed, emanate, manifest.[5] It is applied to the rising of the stars; for

[1] Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 539, No. 18. Champollion, Gram. 378.

[2] Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 541, No. 51. Champollion, Gram. 389.

[3] Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

[4] Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 585, No. 5.

[5] Cf. M. De Rougé, in Revue Archéologique, 8vo, Paris, 1848, 340. Cf. Leemans, Mon. Eg. Pl. XII. 1045, lines 2, 3; 1046, l. 3; and Champollion, Préc. 8vo, Paris, 1828, p. 191, Pl. XII.

the festival of the dog-star is called the *her-(en) Set heb*,[1] 'the festival of the coming forth,' or 'rising (ἀνατολὴ) of the dog-star' (Sothis).

It is evident that Chæremon, whose researches were of an astronomical nature, had given the special sense of the 'rise' or orientation of the star to the general one of 'coming forth,' which this group meant. The converse group, the snake going into its hole, , is also found replacing the phonetic group *ka*, 'to go in.'[2] Thus, in an example in Rosellini[3] occur the two forms , *ka er Ru sta har er sba*, 'he goes in to the Ru sta, and comes out of the firmament' or 'place of gates' and 'stars.' Here again Chæremon, induced by his astronomical tendencies, has taken the special sense of the sun's going back into the heavens, to express his setting, instead of the more general sense of going in. It is, however, evident that if the coming forth was the ἀνατολὴ of the star, the going in was the δύσις.

(7) The sense of a return to life, given to the frog, is new. In the hieroglyphics it only occurs as the determinative of the word *hek*,[4] 'frog,' and in the sense of 'million.'[5] Its name is, however, probably the equivalent of , *hek-tu*, or , *ka*, 'existence.' The frog also occurs after the name of a man, expressive of some quality or condition, on a stibium

[1] Tablet of Ameni, B. M. Sharpe, Pl. 17, l. 5, and foll.

[2] Probably the Coptic ⲕⲓ, and the Greek κίω, the German *geh-en*, and the English *go*.

[3] M. de C. XLIV. 2.

[4] Tablets, B. M. Sharpe, Pl. 78, l. 12.

[5] Bunsen, Eg. Pl. 590. Lepsius, Einleitung, s. 126 and foll.

case in the British Museum.[1] None of the meanings given to the frog by the writers of the Hieroglyphica can be proved to have that which they state,[2] unless 'intelligence,' a sense that the word *ka* will bear, is meant. This and the other senses, however, may help to explain the reason of the deposit of the little figures of this animal in hard stone and porcelain on the mummies.

(8) The hawk is found in all three senses attributed to it, and has been long so explained. Similar senses are also given in the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo.[3]

(9) That the vulture meant 'female,' 'woman,' 'mother,' has been long known. Its place, in what some have called 'the vulture and uræus title,' one of the five of kings, also shows that it meant the upper hemisphere or heaven.[4] The sense of time, although also mentioned by Horapollo in his Hieroglyphica,[5] who says that a vulture meant a 'year,' has not yet been identified.

(10) The bee for 'king' has been long known from the monuments,[6] the Hieroglyphica of Horus Apollo,[7] and the translation of the obelisk by Hermapion.[8]

[1] No. 2609, Egyptian Room.

[2] Horapollo, I. 25, *ἄπλαστον ἄνθρωπον*: II. 101, *ἄνθρωπον ἀναιδῆ*: II. 102, *ἄνθρωπον πολὺν χρόνον μὴ δυνηθέντα κινεῖσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ κινηθέντα τοῖς ποσίν.*

[3] Lib. I. 6, 7, 8.

[4] Brugsch, Uebereinstimmung einer Hieroglyphischen Inschrift. 8vo, Berl. 1849, s. 10, 11.

[5] Lib. I. c. 11.

[6] Champoll. Préc. 1828, p. 35, No. 270. Salv. Ep. Hier. Ob. Luqs. p. 4. Lepsius, Ann. de l'Institut de Corresp. Arch. x. p. 113. It is, after all, a wasp, and pronounced *khab*, in Coptic, (Bunsen, *l. c.* 520, No. 357,) and means 'lower country,' 'prefect,' and 'king.'

[7] Lib. I. 62.

[8] Ammian. Marcellin. XVII. p. 100.

(11) The sense of the scarab as 'production' and 'self-born' has been proved from the monuments,[1] and is given also by Horapollo:[2] that of 'male,' indeed, is not found; but, when used to express creation or self-production, it is limited to male gods.

(12) The bull or cow in the meaning of 'earth' is not known. It is, however, by no means an improbable sense. The name of the bull (*ka*) resembles the Coptic *kah*, 'the earth,' or 'land;' and a region called the *Kam*, probably the 'black' or 'fertile land,' is found in the Ritual.[3]

(13) That the fore part of the lion has an analogous signification to that given by Chæremon has been some time proved: he calls it 'government' and 'surveillance,' a sense nearly the same as that given by Horapollo.[4] The sense of 'exaltation' and 'glory' had been affixed to it.[5] In the Rosetta stone, it is translated by 'glory.'[6] It was sounded *peh*, and in its dual form, as *peh-peh*, was analogous to the word *apep*, 'raised up.'

(14) That the tail of the lion means 'to force,' has been proved by its classification among the determinatives as indicative of violent actions.

(15) The stag, in the sense of 'year,' or duration of time,[7] has not yet indeed been pointed out. As the

[1] Birch, in the Revue Archéologique, 8vo, Paris, 1845, p. 516.

[2] Lib. I. 10.

[3] Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Taf. LVII. 138, l. 2. 'I am the god (*i. e.* the Her or Horus) of Kam (*i. e.* Egypt),—shaa en Teshr, sprung from the Red Land' (*i. e.* the Desert?).

[4] Lib. I. 19.

[5] Bunsen, Eg. Pl. 516, No. 279.

[6] Brugsch, *l. c.* s. 11.

[7] Horapollo, II. 21.

stag itself does not occur in hieroglyphics, Chæremon probably referred to some kind of gazelle.

(16) The palm-tree, in the sense of 'year,' has been long known;[1] so also the boy (17) or child, to signify 'growth' or 'increase,'[2] and the old man (18)[3] to mean 'old.'

The last hieroglyphic to be considered is the bow (19), meaning 'acute power.' This symbol is found as the determinative of the phonetical signs *pest* or *pesh*,[4] 'to extend,' 'to pervade,' 'to reach,' and also after those of *Kens*, Nubia, which is written the same as the word *kans*, 'victory.'[5] Tzetzes had evidently selected this hieroglyphic because it aided his physical hypothesis about the bow of Apollo.

I have entered into this detail because I consider it due to the study to produce this unexpected witness to its truth. The passage has entirely escaped the notice of those who have directed their attention to the accounts of the sacred character preserved by classical authors. But this Byzantine writer cannot be too attentively studied: he had read and extracted from many books which disappeared after the Mohammedan conquest of Constantinople, and never floated up from the wreck of Hellenic literature. Had the whole work of Chæremon reached us, how many difficulties it would have solved which have cost much learning and toil to unravel!

S. B.

[1] Horapollo, I. 39. Leemans ad eund.

[2] Bunsen, *l. c.* 540, No. 36.

[3] Id. *l. c.* 540, No. 35.

[4] Id. *l. c.* 548, No. 121.

[5] Champollion, Mon. Eg. Texte, p. 192, 209.

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